



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

BY THE AUTHOR.

R

ds

ad
Tr

In
Re

ha
H.

vis
fas

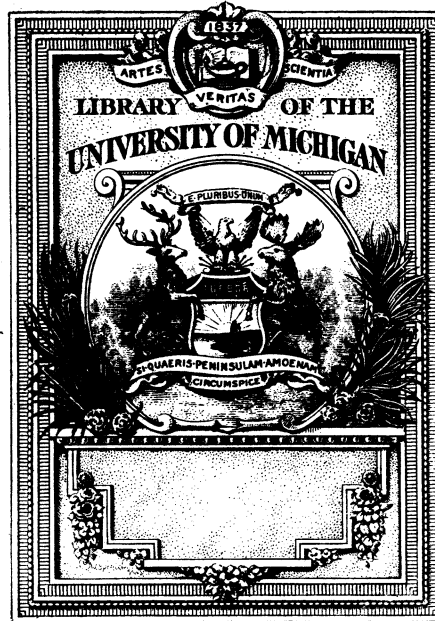
mi
wc
res

me
an
Sn

art
the
the
EF

wi
in

had the advantage of first hand knowledge and genuine experiences. The book has characteristics of thoroughness of investigation and strength of presentation. It is at once history and the annals out of which history is made."—PRESIDENT CHARLES F. THWING, D. D., LL. D., *Western Reserve University*.



It is an
GOLD

The old
DODORE

ork. I
- PROF.

ginative
s most

n to a
which
st hand
versity.

which
interest
Bureau

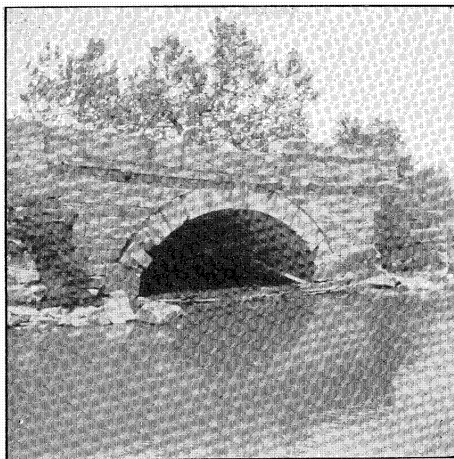
imitive
uch of
hasizes
FRED-

received
charm
They

PRICE, TWO DOLLARS.

The Burrows Brothers Company,
CLEVELAND, OHIO.

F
157
, C85
H9



"A Suggestion of a Serious Purpose."

BRIDGE ON THE NATIONAL ROAD IN OHIO.

THE OLD NATIONAL ROAD

A CHAPTER OF
AMERICAN EXPANSION

106095

BY
ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

PRESS OF F. J. HEER
COLUMBUS
1901

Copyrighted 1901 by Archer Butler Hulbert

Hosted by Google

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	I — "The Middle Age"	11
CHAPTER	II — Washington and Braddock Roads	16
CHAPTER	III — National Legislation	24
CHAPTER	IV — Initial Steps and Difficulties	35
CHAPTER	V — Building in the West	46
CHAPTER	VI — Operation and Control	59
CHAPTER	VII — Stage Coaches and Freighters	78
CHAPTER	VIII — Mails and Mail Lines	95
CHAPTER	IX — Taverns and Tavern Life	102
CHAPTER	X — Conclusion	116
APPENDIX	. . . . .	124

PREFACE

WHERE has history gone that we cannot read the record in highways she has made? The story of the pyramids — is it not suggested in the remnants of those massy causeways built from the quarries to the Nile? Those faint white lines converging on Mecca — that wandering, zig-zag trace from Egypt to the Promised Land, how much of history do they suggest!

Roads have been typical of the civilizations which built them. The traveler entering the city of Nazareth traverses a Roman road which has been used since the beginning of the Christian era. Every line is typical of Rome; every great block of stone speaks of Roman power and Roman will. And ancient roads come down from the Roman standard in a descending scale, even as the strength and durability of their civilizations.

And so what stories of their own do the great routes of trade and conquest tell, whether it be the wandering course of Ten Thousand Immortals, a herculean leap over the Alps, a caravan route along the Oxus to India, or a blundering Braddock's road hewn into the Allegheny forests!

Now, these stories are largely stories of needs. And, in a general way, the greater need the better the road. This is illustrated by the very brute creation in our primeval forests. The bear's food, for instance, was all about him in forest and bush. He made no thoroughfares, for he needed none. On the other hand, the moose and buffalo, who required change of climate, new

feeding grounds and fresher salt licks, made thoroughfares — and their trails on the hills, and the chasms torn through the forests by the rivers, would have been all you could see in a bird's eye-view of this land two centuries ago.

From this beginning of road-making in America this law of need has been unconsciously observed. As the science of road building has more and more developed it is found to follow more closely this underlying economic principle. As primeval conditions have passed away our roads have been coming down from the summits of the water-sheds, where the buffaloes made them and where Indian and pioneer travelled, to the river bottoms where they are most needed today.

The Old National Road, of which this monograph is a study, was built to answer a nation's needs, and its history is of value only as it interprets and throws additional light upon the rise, nature and passing of the need which brought it into existence. Was it not a great thing that the struggling young American Republic made the longest straight road ever built in the world? But the task was no greater than the need. It meant much that this road was built west — but more, that it was straight. It heralded the age of straight roads, an age whose motto was to be "Time is Money," and which made an axiom of the theorem "A straight line is the shortest distance between two points." The Star of Bethlehem travelled above a highway to the cradle of the King, as Milton said:

"See how from far upon the eastern road
The startled wizards haste with odours sweet."

Like it, the "Star of Empire" has ever traversed above highways. It has not gone where there were no roads. If it paused a moment on the Atlantic sea-board, it paused to await the opening of the National Road, above whose stately stretches it then passed, beckoning "the wealth and power of the world westward, until today it stands still over the cradle of the young empire of the West." For seven hundred miles this road marks the course of that star.

It was a question whether the expansion of the United States was to conduce to national strength or national weakness. France and Germany and Italy have expanded to the injury of national vitality, England and the United States to its strengthening. The building of the National Road was a means of securing the west to the United States as it was never secured to France or England. The era of canals and the National Road and steam navigation brought the farthest west into living touch with the east, and each contributed to the other's power and both were welded into one nation. This is one of the most critical and important chapters in the history of the expansion of the United States. The population of the three states west of the Ohio through which the National Road ran increased from 783,635 to 3,620,314 in the generation the road was in active use (before the advent of railways). The average increase of percentage of permanent population for the first five decades in these states was over 182 per decade. In the second decade of the century Indiana's population increased over 500 per cent. This has been equaled but three times in all the phenomenal

"rushes" of recent years into the western states! In all this making of "the young empire of the west" the Old National Road had a preponderating influence. The states north and south of the great highway knew little of this marvelous advance. The percentage of increase of population of Virginia decreased 2 per cent., while Indiana and Illinois increased over 300, Kentucky's per cent. of increase decreasing 45. While Ohio's per cent. of increase of population increased by one, that of Virginia fell off 11 per cent. and Kentucky 8 per cent. This was in the prime of the National Road. These figures must not be made to exaggerate, but are pregnant with suggestion. Throughout its generation the course of the National Road was on the general alignment of the expansive movement.

The author is indebted to the librarian of the State Libraries of Maryland, Pennsylvania, Indiana and Illinois. To Hon. C. B. Galbreath and assistants of the Ohio State Library he is greatly indebted for daily assistance in procuring volumes and manuscripts otherwise difficult to secure. The author is also largely in the debt of the Hon. T. B. Searight's valuable volume of biographical and colloquial sketches, "The Old Pike."

The old National Road was best known in some parts as the "United States" and "Cumberland Road." The former name has been selected as most appropriate for the present monograph as prepared for the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society.

ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT.

Rome, Ohio,

January Twenty-sixth, 1901.

"It is a monument of a past age; but like all other monuments, it is interesting as well as venerable. It carried thousands of population and millions of wealth into the West; and more than any other material structure in the land, served to harmonize and strengthen, if not to save, the Union."—
VEECH.

THE OLD NATIONAL ROAD—A CHAPTER OF AMERICAN EXPANSION.

CHAPTER I.

“THE MIDDLE AGE.”

“The middle ages had their wars and agonies, but also their intense delights. Their gold was dashed with blood, but ours is sprinkled with dust. Their life was intermingled with white and purple; ours is one seamless stuff of brown.” — RUSKIN.



PERSON can not live in the American central west and be acquainted with the generation which greets the new century with feeble hand and dimmed eye without realizing that there has been a time which, compared with to-day, seems as the Middle Ages did to the England to which Ruskin wrote — when “life was intermingled with white and purple.”

This western boy, born to a feeble republic-mother, with exceeding suffering in those days which “tried men’s souls,” grew up as all boys grow up. For a long and doubtful period the young west grew slowly and changed appearance gradually. Then, suddenly, it started from

its slumbering, and, in two decades, could hardly have been recognized as the infant which, in 1787, looked forward to a precarious and doubtful future. The boy has grown into the man in the century, but the changes of the last half century are not, perhaps, so marked as those of the first, when a wilderness was suddenly transformed into a number of imperial commonwealths.

When this west was in its teens and began suddenly outstripping itself, to the marvel of the world, one of the momentous factors in its progress was the building of a great National Road, from the Potomac river to the Mississippi river, by the United States Government — a highway seven hundred miles in length, at a cost of seven millions of treasure. This ribbon of road, winding its way through Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, toward the Mississippi, was one of the most important steps in that movement of national expansion which followed the conquest of the west. It is probably impossible for us to realize fully what it meant to this west when that vanguard of surveyors came down the western slopes of the Alleghanies, hewing a thoroughfare which should, in one generation, bind distant and half-acquainted states together in bonds of common interest, sympathy and ambition. Until that day travelers spoke of “going into” and “coming out of” the west as though it were a Mammoth Cave. Such were the herculean difficulties of travel that it was commonly said, despite the dangers of life in the unconquered land, if pioneers could live to get into the west, nothing could, thereafter, daunt them. The growth and prosperity of the west was impossible, until the dawning of such convictions as those which made the National Road a reality.

But if it meant something to the wilderness of the west, how much more it meant to the east — opening for its possession the richest garden on the planet, the four million square miles in the Mississippi basin. For this same prize two great powers of the old world had yearned and fought. France and England had studded the west with forts, and their arms had been reflected in every stream from Presque Isle to the Holston, but neither of them could conquer the Alleghanies. A century had proven that the west could not be held by water ways. The question, then, was, could it be held by land approaches? The ringing of woodmen's axes, the clinking of surveyors' chains, the rattle of tavern signs and the rumble of stage coach wheels, thundered the answer — Yes!

So patriotic and so thoroughly American is the central west to-day, that it is also difficult to realize by what a slender thread it hung to the fragile republic east of the mountains, during the two decades succeeding the Revolutionary war. The whole world looked upon the east and west as realms distinct as Italy and France, and for the same geographical reason. It looked for a partition of the alleged "United States" among the powers as confidently as we to-day look for the partition of China, and for identically similar reasons. England and France and Spain had their well defined "spheres of influence," and the populated and flourishing center of the then west, Kentucky, became, and was for a generation, a hotbed of their wily emissaries. Through all those years, when Burr and others "played fast and loose with conspiracy," the loyalty of the west was far less sure than one can easily believe. The building of the National Road was, undoubt-

edly, one of the influences which secured the west to the Union, and the population which at once poured into the Ohio valley undoubtedly saved the western states in embryo from greater perils, even, than those they had known.

This road, conceived in the brain of Albert Gallatin, took its inception in 1806, when commissioners to report on the project were appointed by President Jefferson. In 1811 the first contract was let for ten miles of the road west of Cumberland, Maryland, which was its eastern terminus. The road was opened to the Ohio river in 1818.

In a moment's time an army of emigrants and pioneers were en route to the west over the great highway, regiment following regiment as the years advanced. Squalid cabins, where the hunter had lived beside the primeval thoroughfare, were pressed into service as taverns. Indian fords, where the water had oft run red with blood in border frays, were spanned with solid bridges. Ancient towns, which had been comparatively unknown to the world, but which were of sufficient commercial magnetism to attract the great road to them, became, on the morrow, cities of consequence in the world. As the century ran into its second and third decades the National Road received an increasingly heterogeneous population. Wagons of all descriptions, from the smallest to the great "mountain ships" which creaked down the mountain sides and groaned off into the setting sun, formed a marvelous frieze upon it. Fast expresses, too realistically perhaps called "shakeguts," tore along through valley and over hill with important messages of state. Here, the broad highway was blocked with herds of cattle trudging eastward to the

markets, or westward to the meadow lands beyond the mountains. Gay coaches of four and six horses, whose worthy drivers were known by name even to the statesmen who were often their passengers, rolled on to the hospitable taverns where the company reveled. At night, along the roadway, gypsy fires flickered in the darkness, where wandering minstrels and jugglers crept to show their art, while in the background crowded traders, hucksters, peddlers, soldiery, showmen and beggars — all picturesque pilgrims on the nation's great highway.

It is a fair question whether our western civilization is more wonderful for the rapidity with which new things under the sun are discovered, or for the rapidity with which it can forget men and things to-day which were indispensable yesterday. The era of the National Road was succeeded in a half a century by that of the railway, and a great thoroughfare, which was the pride and mainstay of a civilization, has almost passed from human recollection. A few ponderous stone bridges and a long line of sorry looking mile-posts mark the famous highway of our middle age from the network of cross-roads which now meet it at every step. Scores of proud towns, which were thriving centres of a transcontinental trade, have dwindled into comparative insignificance, while the clanging of rusty signs on their ancient tavern posts tell, with inexpressible pathos, that

"There hath passed away a glory from the earth."

CHAPTER II.

THE WASHINGTON AND BRADDOCK ROADS.

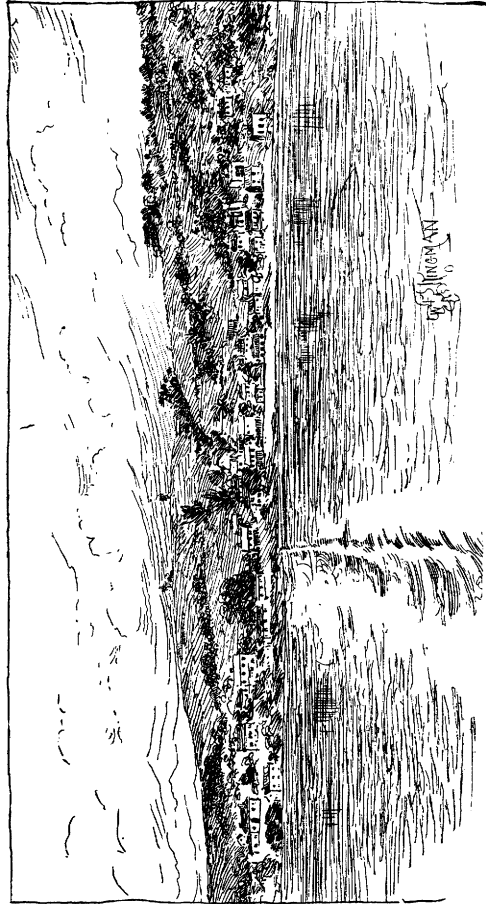
In considering the rise and fall of the National Road, it is necessary to describe briefly the three great routes from the east to the west which served before its building, and particularly the historic route upon which it was itself built.

It was for the buffalo, carrying a weight of a thousand pounds and capable of covering two hundred miles a day, to mark out the first continental highways of America. The buffalo's needs — change of climate, new feeding grounds and fresher salt licks — demanded thoroughfares. His weight demanded that they should be stable, and his ability to cover great distances, that they should be practicable. But one such course was open for passage for the buffalo, and that on the summits of the hills. From the hilltops the water was shed most quickly, making that the dryest land; from the hilltops the snows of winter were quickest blown, lessening the dangers of drifted banks and dangerous erosions.

There were three great routes of the buffalo from the seaboard to the central west; first, through northern New York; second, through southern Virginia and Kentucky; third, through northwestern Maryland and southwestern Pennsylvania.

Route one was practically the present course of the New York Central railway. It was the old overland route to the lakes.

Route two ran southwest, through Virginia, between the Alleghanies and Blue Ridge, and turned westward through Cum-



SITE OF BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT (BRADDOCK, PENNSYLVANIA.)

berland Gap. This old route of the buffaloes was first marked out for white man's use by Daniel Boone, who was engaged in 1774 to mark out a road to lands in Kentucky purchased from the aborigines by the Transylvania Company. This route through the Gap became known as the Wilderness Road. Kentucky took up the matter of improving and guarding the Wilderness Road in 1793, a year after her admission into the Union. The two main thoroughfares of Kentucky were along buffalo "traces"; one, diverging on Rockcastle creek, led to the Blue Grass country, where Lexington was built, (Boone's route); another led to Harrodsburg, Danville and Louisville, and westward to Vincennes and St. Louis on the Mississippi (Logan's route).

Route three was a course from the Potomac to the Ohio river, marked for the first Ohio Company, before the French and Indian War by Nemacolin, a Delaware Indian. It was later the general course of Washington's road and of Braddock's road — the first great road built westward.

Each of these three routes found its terminus on a body of water; the first at Buffalo on Lake Ontario, the second at St. Louis on the Mississippi, the third at Pittsburg on the Ohio. As for the Indians and whites they were merely portage paths. The fact that when men ascended these American streams to the portages, and found there already deeply worn, trails of the buffalo, is interesting evidence that the brute had found the great continental paths of least resistance (least elevation) with marvelous accuracy. This must be judged one of the most wonderful exhibitions of the utilitarianism of animal instinct. If

the proposed great highway from the Atlantic to the Pacific is built, wherever there is need of careful choice of route, it will inevitably follow the general alignment of a buffalo trace.

Each of these three American continental routes were of the utmost importance at one time or another. The first great tide of emigration which set westward went largely over Boone's blazed road through Cumberland Gap. Later the Wilderness Road was eclipsed by the National Road, which served until the mountains were spanned by the railways. The most northerly route, through the state of New York, the least used and known of the three, will probably entirely eclipse its southern rivals in importance in the days to come. This route became well known in the days of lake and land emigrations to the west. Hundreds of pioneers of the Connecticut Western Reserve went up this old route to Buffalo and passed on westward, traveling along the beach of Lake Erie.

The course of the buffalo through Maryland and Pennsylvania to the Ohio is the most historic route in America, and one of the most famous in the world. Undoubtedly the route of the buffalo and Indian were identical, for at least the length of the portage between Cumberland on the Potomac and Brownsville (Redstone Old Fort) on the Monangahela river. This was probably the main traveled path. From it, however, diverged (on the summit of Laurel Hill) what was, undoubtedly, the original buffalo trace, which coursed in a northwesterly direction toward the site of Pittsburg on the Ohio river.

This trace of the buffalo and portage path of the Indian from the headwaters of the Potomac to the headwaters of the

Youghiogany had no name of which record has been made, until it took the name of a Delaware Indian, Nemacolin, who first "blazed it" for white man's use. In 1749 a company of Virginia gentlemen received from the King of England a grant of land in the "Ohio country," on condition that they would settle it within seven years. The first two necessary duties of the company were quickly undertaken. Christopher Gist, a reliable mountaineer, was sent into the Ohio valley to pick out the land for the pioneers of the company, and a Captain Thomas Cresap, who lived on the upper Potomac, was entrusted with the work of marking out a road thither — "to lay out and mark a road from Cumberland to Pittsburg."¹ The road to the Ohio had already been laid out for centuries, but it was not "marked." Cresap employed Nemacolin to "blaze" the old route.

Thus at the middle of the eighteenth century, as the curtain of one of the greatest dramas in history was about to rise, a line of gashed trees led into the west, for the possession of which, the two enemies, France and England, were about to transfer their immemorial war to the new continent.

To those who love to look back to beginnings and read great things in small, this line of wounded trees, leading across the first great "divide," into the rich empire of the central west, is worthy of contemplation. Each tree, starred whitely by the Indian's axe, speaks of Saxon conquest and commerce, one and inseparable. In every act in the drama that so quickly followed, this Indian path with its blazed trees lies in the foreground. Over

¹ Jacob's *Life of Captain Michael Cresap*, p. 28.

it came the young surveyor Washington, on his way to the haughty St. Pierre, to ask that exceeding formal question why the French were building forts on western territory (which was legally theirs, and to which no people other than the French have ever had a better right!) Then, the trail having been widened, on came Washington's little Virginian army, the first conflict of the war, and the erection of Fort Necessity near the broadened Indian path.² Soon after, the route became immortalized by the advent of Braddock's army, which was annihilated upon it. The reader will recall that one of the three plans of the British in the campaign of 1775, in the French and Indian War, was the attempt of General Braddock to capture the French Fort Duquesne, at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela, in order to sever the line of French forts from Quebec to Louisiana, and break the "backbone of New France."

This important expedition landed at the port of Alexandria, in Virginia, February 20, 1755. With the same dense ignorance of the continent, which existed in the day when letters were addressed to the "Island of New England," no thought was taken as to how this army was to march through the dim wilderness to the fort it was to capture. The port of debarkation, which settled, necessarily, the matter of route, was decided upon, like everything else, with little knowledge of the herculean task to be accomplished.³ The road question was left to the colonies through which the army was to march, and the first that Gov-

² *Washington's Journal, 1754* (Toner), pp. 42, 48, 50, 62, 95.

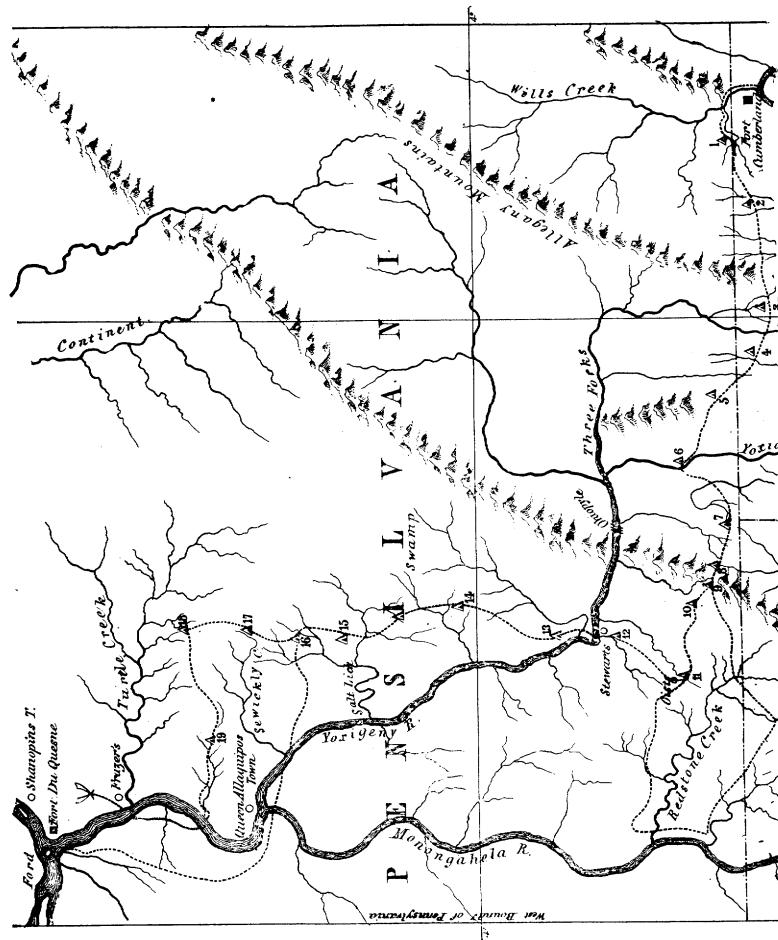
³ Cf. Woodrow Wilson's "*George Washington*," p. 85.



GENERAL BRADDOCK.



THE "BLOODY FORD."



BRADDOCK'S ROAD AND ENCAMPMENTS.

Governor Morris of Pennsylvania knew of Braddock's need of a road was four days after the landing at Alexandria, instead of four months before, as should have been the case.

On the twenty-fourth of February he received a letter from Braddock's Deputy Quartermaster General, Sir John St. Clair, urging him to "open a road toward the head of Youghhegang or any other way that is nearer to the French forts."⁴ Morris immediately replied that there was no "wagon road" but only a "horse path" through his colony by way of Carlisle to the Ohio. But by the twelfth of the next month, Morris was empowered by his colony to appoint a commission to open a road "through Carlisle and Shippensburg to the Yoiogain, and to the camp at Will Creek."⁵ In the meantime Braddock's army had passed by various courses to the headwaters of the Potomac, to Fort Cumberland, the eastern terminus of the path blazed by Nemacolin and widened by Washington. The commissioners appointed by Governor Morris had "run their road to the Yoiogain" and came home by way of Fort Cumberland without "running" the road thither.⁶ Here they found St. Clair raging over the alleged dilatory and unpatriotic policy of Pennsylvania. St. Clair immediately sent a party forward to "find a road from there (Fort Cumberland) to the point on the Youghiogany, which the road being built by Pennsylvania would strike."⁷ No road was found

⁴ *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*. Vol. VI, pp. 300, 378.

⁵ *Idem* Vol. VI, p. 318.

⁶ "*Pennsylvania Magazine of History*," Vol. IX, p. 7.

⁷ From Ormes' Journal it would seem that Braddock always intended to march by way of Washington's road; for he says Morris was asked to

and the alternative of following the old route of Washington was all that was left.

Thus it happened that the historic trail, made famous by Washington's first expedition and battle in the Ohio valley, became the course of Braddock's ill-starred army. On the thirtieth of May, having abandoned all idea of making a new road, Sir John St. Clair, set out from Fort Cumberland with a body of six hundred choppers to widen and improve Washington's road. Behind it, often within sound of the axes, the van of the army daily encamped.⁸ Indian trails were only wide enough for but a single traveler. The path, though widened for hauling Washington's swivels, would not have answered the needs of Braddock's army. For this army, a roadway, averaging probably twelve feet in width, was cut, over which the guns and wagons were hauled with exceeding difficulty.⁹

It has been a matter of interest to the writer to know how largely the Indian trail became the identical course of Braddock's Road. It is more than probable that the two courses were generally identical. In Mr. Atkinson's most valuable study of Braddock's route we read: "For reasons not easy to divine the route across Wills mountain * * * was selected."¹⁰ Such

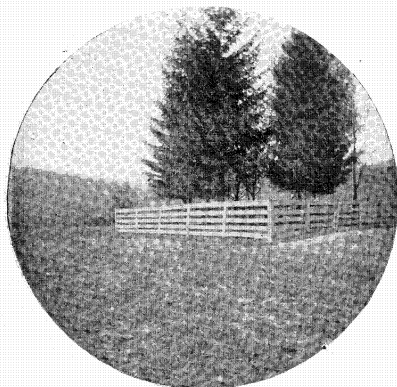
build a road that would "fall into his road at the great meadows, or at the Yoxhio Geni" which would serve for reinforcements and convoys. — Orme's Journal in *"History of Braddock's Expedition,"* p. 315.

⁸ *"History of Braddock's Expedition,"* p. 355

⁹ *Idem* p. 203.

¹⁰ Atkinson's "Braddock's Route to the Battle of the Monongahela," *Olden Time* Vol. II, p. 544.

"There was but one practicable passage-way across the land for either



BRADDOCK'S GRAVE
BESIDE THE NATIONAL ROAD.

evidences as this, that the road followed the invariable laws of Indian trails, is the strongest circumstantial proof that can be asked. "Steep rugged hills were to be clomb," wrote one who followed the army, "headlong declivities to be descended, down which the cannon and wagons were lowered with blocks and tackle."

On into the Alleghanies the little army marched through the narrow aisle freshly hewn each day, unmindful of its doom. There is something doubly tragic in Braddock's defeat. The army had undergone such exhaustive trials and was so near the goal when it was suddenly swept by the lurking blast of flame!

The army followed the Indian trail until after the sixteenth encampment. On the morning of the seventh of July, Braddock "left the Indian track which he had followed so long,"¹¹ and started for the fort in more direct line across country. Arriving at Turtle Creek, he gave up the attempt and turned back to the Monongahela and the death trap. Braddock's Road was completed, full twelve feet wide, to the northern bank of the Monongahela, where the city of Braddock, Pennsylvania, now stands. It was a rough, winding swath of a road mowed by British grit, ending at a slaughter pen and charnel ground, only seven miles from Fort Duquesne.

beast or man, and that, on the summits of the hills. Here on the hilltops, mounting on the longest ascending ridges, lay the tawny paths of the buffalo and the Indian. They were not only highways, they were the highest ways, and chosen for the best of reasons." — *Red Men's Roads*," p. 8.

¹¹ *History of Braddock's Expedition* pp. 203, 351.

CHAPTER III.

NATIONAL LEGISLATION.

For three score years Braddock's Road answered all the imperative needs of modern travel, though the journey over it, at most seasons, was a rough experience.¹² During the winter the road was practically impassable.¹³

But with the growing importance of Pittsburg, the subject of roads received more and more attention. As early as 1769 a warrant was issued for the survey of the Manor of Pittsburg, which embraced 5766 acres. In this warrant an allowance of six per cent. was made for roads.¹⁴ Six years later, or the first year of the Revolutionary War, court met at Pittsburg, and viewers were appointed to report on a large number of roads, in the construction of which all males between the ages of sixteen

¹² An obituary notice which has come into the possession of the writer dated 1796, reads: "Alligany County, Marriland July the 14th 1796 died John P. Allen at the house of John Simkins at atherways bear camplain broaddags old road half way between fort Cumberland & Union town."

¹³ Colonel Brodhead, commanding at Fort Pitt, wrote Richard Peters: "The great Depth of Snow upon the Alleghany and Laurel Hills have prevented our Getting every kind of Stores, nor do I expect to get any now until the latter End of April." — "*Pennsylvania Archives* " Vol. VIII, p. 120.

¹⁴ Craig's "*History of Pittsburg*," p. 104.

and forty-five, living within three miles of the road, were required to work under the supervision of the commissioners. One of these roads became, nearly half a century later, incorporated in the National Road.¹⁵

The licensing of taverns by Youghiogheny county in 1778, and of ferries about the same time, indicate the opening and use of roads. Within ten years, the post from New York to Pittsburg was established over the treacherous mountain road.¹⁶ In 1794 the Pittsburg postoffice was established, with mails from Philadelphia once in two weeks.¹⁷

Through all these years, the contest for the west was being waged. The armies of the United States, after many defeats, had won their final victory, and at Greenville, in 1795, General Anthony Wayne wrung, from the disconcerted allied Indian nations, a treaty, which secured to the whites the Ohio country. During these years, a stream of pioneers had been flowing westward;

¹⁵ *History of Washington County, Pennsylvania*, pp. 20-22. Cf. *The Old Pike*, p. 244.

¹⁶ *Pittsburg Gazette* of September 30, 1788.

¹⁷ Craig's "*History of Pittsburg*," p. 226. The mail route established at this time had its destination at Louisville, Kentucky, and came to Pittsburg over the road opened by Governor Morris through Pennsylvania via Bedford, Pittsburg, Limestone (by Ohio river) Paris, Lexington, Frankfort, Harrodsburg, Danville, Bardstown to Louisville. It is interesting to note that mail for the settlements at the end of the Wilderness Road (Kentucky) always came westward over the Pennsylvania roads. Mr. James Lane Allen has unfortunately confounded the Wilderness Road and the Old National Road in his delightful volume, *The Blue Grass Region of Kentucky*, p. 284.

the current dividing at Fort Cumberland. Hundreds had wended their tedious way over Braddock's Road to the Youghiogany and passed down by water to Kentucky, but thousands had journeyed south over Boone's Wilderness Road, which had been blazed through Cumberland Gap in 1775. All that was needed to turn the whole current toward the Ohio was a good thoroughfare. When would it be built? Who would build it? These were the questions that were being asked, when the eighteenth century closed.

With the nineteenth century came the answer. The thousands of people who had gone, by one way or another, into the trans-Ohio country soon demanded statehood. The creation of the state of Ohio is directly responsible for the building of the National Road. In an act passed by Congress April 30, 1802, to enable the people of Ohio to form a state government and for admission into the Union, section seven contained this provision:

"That one-twentieth of the net proceeds of the lands lying within said State sold by Congress shall be applied to the laying out and making public roads leading from the navigable waters emptying into the Atlantic, to the Ohio, to the said state, and through the same, such roads to be laid out under the authority of Congress, with the consent of the several states through which the roads shall pass."¹⁸

Another law passed March 3 of the following year, appro-

¹⁸ *United States at Large*, Vol. II, p. 173.

priated the three per cent. of the five to laying out roads within the state of Ohio, and the remaining two per cent. for laying out and making roads from the navigable waters, emptying into the Atlantic, to the river Ohio to the said state.¹⁹

A committee, appointed to review the question, reported to the Senate December 19, 1805. At that time, the sale of land from July, 1802, to September 30, 1805, had amounted to \$632,604.27, of which two per cent., \$12,652, was available for a road to Ohio. This sum was rapidly increasing. Of the routes across the mountains, the committee studied none of those north of Philadelphia, or south of Richmond. Between these points five courses were considered:

1. Philadelphia — Ohio river (between Steubenville and Mouth of Grave Creek)..... 314 miles.
2. Baltimore — Ohio river (between Steubenville and Mouth of Grave Creek)..... 275 miles.
3. Washington — Ohio river (between Steubenville and Mouth of Grave Creek)..... 275 miles.
4. Richmond 317 miles.
5. Baltimore-Brownsville 218 miles.

There were really but two courses to consider, those which have already been described as the Wilderness Road and Braddock's Road. The former led through a thinly populated part of the country and did not answer the prescribed condition, that of striking the Ohio river at a point contiguous to the state of Ohio. Consequently, in the report submitted by the committee we read as follows:

¹⁹ *United States at Large*, Vol. II, p. 226.

"Therefore the committee have thought it expedient to recommend the laying out and making a road from Cumberland, on the northerly bank of the Potomac, and within the state of Maryland, to the Ohio river, at the most convenient place on the easterly bank of said river, opposite to Steubenville, and the mouth of Grave Creek, which empties into said river, Ohio, a little below Wheeling in Virginia. This route will meet and accommodate roads from Baltimore and the District of Columbia; it will cross the Monongahela at or near Brownsville, sometimes called Redstone, where the advantage of boating can be taken; and from the point where it will probably intersect the river Ohio, there are now roads, or they can easily be made over feasible and proper ground, to and through the principal population of the state of Ohio."²⁰

Immediately the following act of Congress was passed, authorizing the laying out and making of the National Road:

AN ACT TO REGULATE THE LAYING OUT AND MAKING A ROAD FROM CUMBERLAND, IN THE STATE OF MARYLAND, TO THE STATE OF OHIO.

SECTION I. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby

²⁰ *Senate Reports*, 9th Cong., Sess., Rep., No. 195.

authorized to appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, three discreet and disinterested citizens of the United States, to lay out a road from Cumberland, or a point on the northern bank of the river Potomac, in the state of Maryland, between Cumberland and the place where the main road leading from Gwynn's to Winchester, in Virginia, crosses the river, to the state of Ohio; whose duty it shall be, as soon as may be, after their appointment, to repair to Cumberland aforesaid, and view the ground, from the points on the river Potomac hereinbefore designated to the river Ohio; and to lay out in such direction as they shall judge, under all circumstances the most proper, a road from thence to the river Ohio, to strike the same at the most convenient place, between a point on its eastern bank, opposite to the northern boundary of Steubenville, in said state of Ohio, and the mouth of Grave Creek, which empties into the said river a little below Wheeling, in Virginia.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That the aforesaid road shall be laid out four rods in width, and designated on each side by a plain and distinguishable mark on a tree, or by the erection of a stake or monument sufficiently conspicuous, in every quarter of a mile of the distance at least, where the road pursues a straight course so far or further, and on each side, at every point where an angle occurs in its course.

SEC. 3. And be it further enacted, That the commissioners shall, as soon as may be, after they have laid out said road, as aforesaid, present to the President an accurate plan of the same, with its several courses and distances, accompanied by a written report of their proceedings, describing the marks and monuments

by which the road is designated, and the face of the country over which it passes, and pointing out the particular parts which they shall judge require the most and immediate attention and amelioration, and the probable expense of making the same possible in the most difficult parts, and through the whole distance; designating the state or states through which said road has been laid out, and the length of the several parts which are laid out on new ground, as well as the length of those parts laid out on the road now traveled. Which report the President is hereby authorized to accept or reject, in the whole or in part. If he accepts, he is hereby further authorized and requested to pursue such measures, as in his opinion shall be proper, to obtain consent for making the road, of the state or states through which the same has been laid out. Which consent being obtained, he is further authorized to take prompt and effectual measures to cause said road to be made through the whole distance, or in any part or parts of the same as he shall judge most conducive to the public good, having reference to the sum appropriated for the purpose.

SEC. 4. And be it further enacted, That all parts of the road which the President shall direct to be made, in case the trees are standing, shall be cleared the whole width of four rods; and the road shall be raised in the middle of the carriageway with stone, earth, or gravel or sand, or a combination of some or all of them, leaving or making, as the case may be, a ditch or water course on each side and contiguous to said carriage-way, and in no instance shall there be an elevation in said road, when finished, greater than an angle of five degrees with the horizon. But the

manner of making said road, in every other particular, is left to the direction of the President.

SEC. 5. And be it further enacted, That said commissioners shall each receive four dollars per day, while employed as aforesaid, in full for their compensation, including all expenses. And they are hereby authorized to employ one surveyor, two chainmen and one marker, for whose faithfulness and accuracy they, the said commissioners, shall be responsible, to attend them in laying out said road, who shall receive in full satisfaction for their wages, including all expenses, the surveyor, three dollars per day, and each chainman and marker, one dollar per day, while they shall be employed in said business, of which fact a certificate signed by said commissioners shall be deemed sufficient evidence.

SEC. 6. And be it further enacted, That the sum of thirty thousand dollars be, and the same is hereby appropriated, to defray the expenses of laying out and making said road. And the President is hereby authorized to draw, from time to time, on the treasury for such parts, or at any one time, for the whole of said sum, as he shall judge the service requires. Which sum of thirty thousand dollars shall be paid, first, out of the fund of two per cent. reserved for laying out and making roads to the state of Ohio, and by virtue of the seventh section of an act passed on the thirtieth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and two, entitled, "An act to enable the people of the eastern division of the territory northwest of the river Ohio to form a constitution and state government, and for the admission of such state into the Union on an equal footing with the original states, and for other purposes." Three per cent. of the appro-

priation contained in said seventh section being directed by a subsequent law to the laying out, opening and making roads within the said state of Ohio; and secondly, out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, chargeable upon, and reimbursable at the treasury by said fund of two per cent. as the same shall accrue.

SEC. 7. And be it further enacted, That the President be, and he is hereby requested, to cause to be laid before Congress, as soon as convenience will permit, after the commencement of each session, a statement of the proceedings under this act, that Congress may be enabled to adapt such further measures as may from time to time be proper under existing circumstances.

Approved March 29, 1806.

TH. JEFFERSON.

In execution of this act President Jefferson appointed Thomas Moore of Maryland, Joseph Kerr of Ohio, and Eli Williams of Maryland commissioners to lay out the National Road. Their first report was presented December 30, 1806. It is a document of great importance in the historical development of road building on this continent, throwing, as it does, many interesting side lights on the great task which confronted the builders of our first national highway.²¹

The suggestion contained in the act of Congress, that the road might follow, in part, the previous route across the mountains, was undoubtedly taken to mean, that so far as possible,

²¹ Appendix No. 1.

this rule should guide the commissioners in their task. Starting from Cumberland the general alignment of Braddock's Road was pursued, until the point was reached where the old thoroughfare left the old portage trail, on the summit of Laurel Hill. The course was then laid straight toward Brownsville (Redstone Old Fort) probably along the general alignment of the old Indian portage path, and an earlier road. From Brownsville to Washington was an old road, possibly the course of the Indian trail. Albert Gallatin, father of the road, was at this time Secretary of the Treasury, and a property holder in Pennsylvania near the probable route of the National Road. He was accused of attempting to bring the road near his lands. Mr. Gallatin immediately wrote to the President asking him to decide the matter of route between Brownsville and the Ohio river. Mr. Gallatin wrote to Mr. David Shriver, the Superintendent of the National Road, as follows: "You are authorized to employ a surveyor to view the most proper road from Brownsville to Washington in Pennsylvania, and thence to examine the routes to Charleston, Steubenville, mouth of Short Creek and Wheeling and report a correct statement of distance and ground on each. If the county road now established from Brownsville to Washington is not objectionable, it would be eligible to prefer it to any other which might be substituted."²² The National Road between Uniontown and Brownsville followed a road laid out before the Revolutionary War.²³

²² *"The Old Pike,"* p. 373.

²³ The country south of the Ohio from Steubenville and Wheeling was historic ground, the first paths being well-worn routes of travel long

As has already been suggested, there was a dispute concerning the point where the road would touch the Ohio river. The rivalry was most intense between Wheeling and Steubenville. Wheeling won through the influence of Henry Clay, to whom a monument was erected at a later date near the town on the old road.

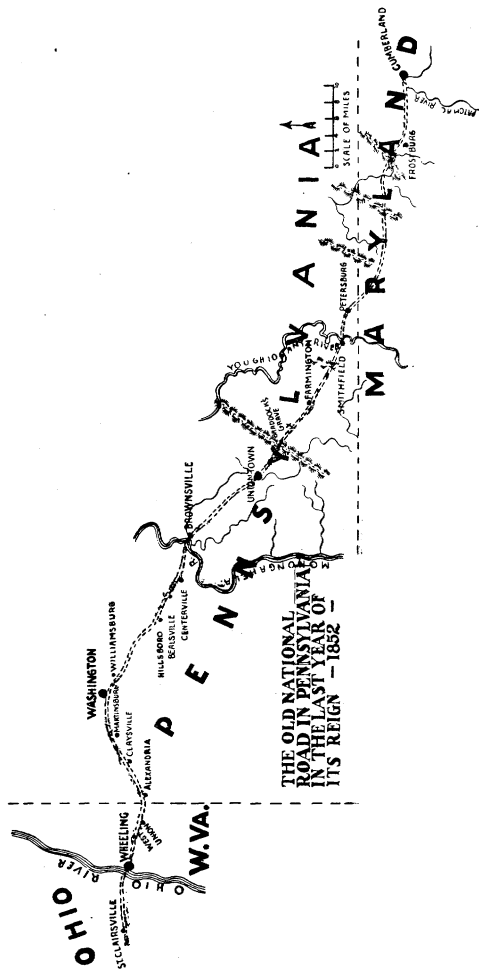
On the fifteenth of January, 1808, the commissioners rendered a second report in which it appears that timber and brush had already been cleared from the proposed route and that contracts were already let for the first ten miles west of Cumberland.²⁴

Permission to build the road was gained of each of the states through which it passed,²⁵ Pennsylvania making the condition that the route of the road should pass through the towns of Washington and Uniontown.

before the coming of the National Road. The main primeval thoroughfares were the Monongahela trail and Girty's old trail southward from Girty's Point on the Ohio River. See "*Red Men's Roads* " p. 17; also DeHass' *History of West Virginia*, p. 342, note 1.

²⁴ Appendix No. 2.

²⁵ Pennsylvania April 9, 1807; Maryland 1806, Chap. LXX, "An act vesting certain powers in the President of the United States." Ohio, 1824, XXII, 87, "An act to concede to the government of the United States the power of extending the Cumberland Road through this state." Chase, p. 1961.



CHAPTER IV.

INITIAL STEPS AND DIFFICULTIES.

The second report of the commissioners, as noted, assured Congress that the preliminary work on the great road had begun. This was in 1808, and contracts had been made for clearing the surveyed route of brush and trees. This indicates that the National Road was not built on the bed of Braddock's road. Though the two crossed each other frequently, as Mr. Middleton's map shows, the commissioners reported that the two roadbeds were not identical in the aggregate for more than one mile in the entire distance.²⁶

Contracts for the first ten miles west of Cumberland were signed April 16 and May 11, 1811. They were completed in the following year. Contracts were let in 1812, 1813, 1815. In 1817 contracts brought the road to Uniontown. In the same year a contract was let from a point near Washington to the

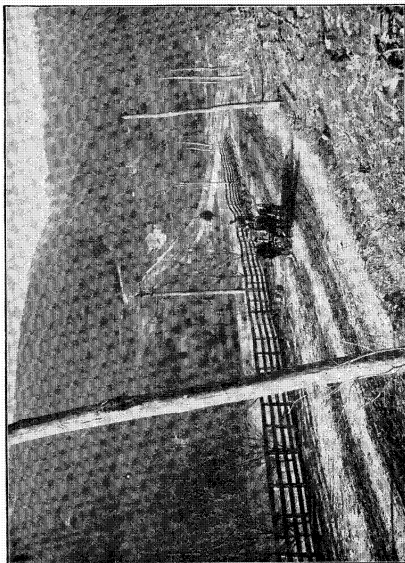
²⁶ Braddock's Road and the National Road were originally one as they left Cumberland. The course met again at Little Meadows near Tomlinson's Tavern and again at eastern foot of Negro mountain. The courses were identical at the Old Flenniken tavern two miles west of Smithfield (Big Crossing) and on summit of Laurel Hill, at which point Braddock's Road swung off northwesterly toward Pittsburg, following the old buffalo trail toward the junction of the Ohio and Alleghany, and the National Road continued westward along the course of the old portage path toward Wheeling on the Ohio.

Virginia line. In the following year United States mail coaches were running from Washington, D. C., to Wheeling, and 1818 is considered the year of the opening of the road to the Ohio river.

The cost of the eastern division of the road was enormous. The commissioners in their report to Congress estimated the cost at \$6,000 per mile, not including bridges. The cost of the road from Cumberland to Uniontown was \$9,745 per mile. The cost of the entire division east of the Ohio river was about \$13,000 per mile. Too liberal contracts was given as the reason for the greater proportional expense between Uniontown and Wheeling.

An idea of the difficulties of putting the great road through the Pennsylvania mountain ranges can be gained from a table of heights (above Cumberland) which the road crossed, given by the commissioners in their report of 1808:

	FEET.
Summit of Savage mountain.....	2,022-24
Savage river	1,741- 6
Summit Little Savage mountain.....	1,900- 4
Branch Pine Run, first western water.....	1,699- 9
Summit of Red Hill (afterward called Shades of Death).....	1,914- 3
Summit Little Meadow mountain.....	2,026-16
Little Youghiogheny river.....	1,322- 6
East Fork of Shade Run.....	1,558-92
Summit of Negro mountain, highest point.....	2,328-12
Middle branch of White's creek, at the west foot of Negro mountain	1,360- 5
White's creek	1,195- 5
Big Youghiogheny	645- 5
Summit of ridge between Youghiogheny river and Beaver waters.	1,514- 5



CHESTNUT RIDGE, PENNSYLVANIA.



Beaver Run	1,123- 8
Summit of Laurel Hill.....	1,550-16
Court House of Uniontown.....	274-65
A point ten feet above the surface of low water in the Monon- gahela river, at the mouth of Dunlap's creek.....	119-26

A flood of traffic swept over the great highway immediately upon its completion. As early as the year 1822 it is recorded that a single one of the five commission houses at Wheeling unloaded 1,081 wagons, averaging 3,500 pounds each, and paid for freightage of goods the sum of \$90,000.

But the road was hardly completed when a spectre of constitutional cavil arose, threatening its existence. In 1822 a bill was passed by Congress looking toward the preservation and repair of the newly built road. It should be stated that the road bed, though completed in one sense, was not in condition to be used extensively unless continually repaired. In many places only a single layer of broken stone had been laid, and, with the volume of traffic which was daily passing over it, the road did not promise to remain in good condition. In order to secure funds for the constant repairs necessary, this bill ordered the establishment of turnpikes with gates and tolls. The bill was immediately vetoed by President Monroe on the ground that Congress, according to his interpretation of the constitution, did not have the power to pass such a sweeping measure of internal improvement.

The President based his conclusion upon the following grounds, stated in a special message to Congress, dated May 4, 1822:

“A power to establish turnpikes, with gates and tolls and to enforce the collection of the tolls by penalties, implies a power to adopt and execute a complete system of internal improvements. A right to impose duties to be paid by all persons passing a certain road, and on horses and carriages, as is done by this bill, involves the right to take the land from the proprietor on a valuation, and to pass laws for the protection of the road from injuries; and if it exist, as to one road, it exists as to any other, and to as many roads as Congress may think proper to establish. A right to legislate for the others. It is a complete right of jurisdiction and sovereignty for all the purposes of internal improvement, and not merely the right of applying money under the power vested in Congress to make appropriations (under which power, with the consent of the states through which the road passes, the work was originally commenced, and has been so far executed). I am of the opinion that Congress does not possess this power — that the states individually cannot grant it; for, although they may assent to the appropriation of money within their limits for such purposes, they can grant no power of jurisdiction of sovereignty, by special compacts with the United States. This power can be granted only by an amendment to the constitution, and in the mode prescribed by it. If the power exist, it must be either because it has been specially granted to the United States, or that it is incidental to

some power, which has been specifically granted. It has never been contended that the power was specifically granted. It is claimed only as being incidental to some one or more of the powers which are specifically granted.

The following are the powers from which it is said to be derived: (1) From the right to establish post offices and post roads; (2) from the right to declare war; (3) to regulate commerce; (4) to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and the general welfare; (5) from the power to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution all the powers vested by the constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof; (6) and lastly from the power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property of the United States. According to my judgment it cannot be derived from either of these powers, nor from all of them united, and in consequence it does not exist."²⁷

During the early years of this century, the subject of internal improvements relative to the building of roads and canals was one of the foremost political questions of the day. No sooner were the debts of the Revolutionary war paid, and a surplus accumulated, than a systematic improvement of the country was undertaken. The Old National Road was but one

²⁷ Richardson (Ed) *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. II, p. 142. (May 4, 1822.)

of several roads projected by general government. Through the administrations of Adams, Jefferson and Madison large appropriations had been made for numerous improvements. The bill authorizing the levying of tolls was a step too far, as President Monroe held that it was one thing to make appropriations for public improvements, but an entirely different thing to assume jurisdiction and sovereignty over the land whereon those improvements were made. This was one of the great public questions in the first half of the present century. President Jackson's course was not very consistent. Before his election he voted for internal improvements, even advocating subscriptions by the government to the stock of private canal companies, and the formation of roads beginning and ending within the limits of certain states. In his message at the opening of the first Congress after his accession, he suggested the division of the surplus revenue among the states, as a substitute for the promotion of internal improvements by the general government, attempting a limitation and distinction too difficult and important to be settled and acted upon on the judgment of one man, namely, the distinction between general and local objects.

"The pleas of the advocates of internal improvement," wrote a contemporary authority of high standing on economic questions, "are these: That very extensive public works, designed for the benefit of the whole Union, and carried through vast portions of its area, must be accomplished. That an object so essential ought not to be left at the mercy of such an accident as the cordial agreement of the requisite number of states, to carry such works forward to their completion; that the surplus funds accu-

ing from the whole nation cannot be well employed as in promoting works in which the whole nation will be benefitted; and that as the interests of the majority have hitherto upheld Congress in the use of this power, it may be assumed to be the will of the majority that Congress should continue to exercise it.

The answer is that it is inexpedient to put a vast and increasing patronage into the hands of the general government; that only a very superficial knowledge can be looked for in members of Congress as to the necessity or value of works proposed to be instituted in any parts of the states, from the impossibility or undesirableness of equalizing the amount of appropriation made to each; that useless works would be proposed from the spirit of competition or individual interest; and that corruption, co-extensive with the increase of power, would deprave the functions of the general government." * * *

* * * "To an impartial observer it appears that Congress has no constitutional right to devote the public funds to internal improvements, at its own unrestricted will and pleasure; that the permitted usurpation of the power for so long a time indicates that some degree of such power in the hands of the general government is desirable and necessary; that such power should be granted through an amendment of the constitution, by the methods therein provided; that, in the meantime, it is perilous that the instrument should be strained for the support of any function, however desirable its exercise may be."

"In case of the proposed addition being made to the constitution, arrangements will, of course, be entered into for the determining the principles by which general are to be distinguished

from local objects or whether such distinction can, on any principle, be fixed; for testing the utility of proposed objects; for checking extravagant expenditure, jobbing and corrupt patronage; in short, the powers of Congress will be specified, here as in other matters, by express permission and prohibition.”²⁸

In 1824, however, President Monroe found an excuse to sign a bill which was very similar to that vetoed in 1822, and the great road, whose fate had hung for two years in the balance, received needed appropriations. The travel over the road in the first decade after its completion was heavy and before a decade had passed the road-bed was in wretched condition. It was the plan of the friends of the road, when they realized that no revenue could be raised by means of tolls by the government, to have the road placed in a state of good repair by the government and then turned over to the several states through which it passed.²⁹

The liberality of the government, at this juncture, in instituting thorough repairs on the road, was an act worthy of the road’s service and destiny.

In order to insure efficiency and permanency these repairs³⁰ were made on the Macadam system; that is to say, the pavement of the old road was entirely broken up, and the stones removed from the road; the bed was then raked smooth, and made nearly flat, having a rise of not more than three inches from the side to the centre, in a road thirty feet wide; the ditches

²⁸ Harriet Martineau’s *“Society in America,”* Vol. II, pp. 31-35.

²⁹ See Appropriation No. 27, in Appendix.

³⁰ For specimen advertisement for repairs on National Road see Appendix No. 4.

on each side of the road, and the drains leading from them, were so constructed that the water could not stand at a higher level than eighteen inches below the lowest part of the surface of the road; and, in all cases, when it was practicable, the drains were adjusted in such manner as to lead the water entirely from the side ditches. The culverts were cleared out, and so adjusted as to allow the free passage of all water that tended to cross the road.

Having thus formed the bed of the road, cleaned out the ditches and culverts, and adjusted the side drains, the stone was reduced to a size not exceeding four ounces in weight, was spread on with shovels, and raked smooth. The old material was used when it was of sufficient hardness, and no clay or sand was allowed to be mixed with the stone.

In replacing the covering of stone, it was found best to lay it on in strata of about three inches thick, admitting the travel for a short interval on each layer, and interposing such obstructions from time to time as would insure an equal travel over every portion of the road; care being taken to keep persons in constant attendance to rake the surface when it became uneven by the action of wheels of carriages. In those parts of the road, if any, where materials of good quality could be obtained for the road in sufficient quantity to afford a course of six inches, new stone was procured to make up the deficiency to that thickness; but it was considered unnecessary, in any part, to put on a covering of more than nine inches. None but limestone, flint or granite, were used for the covering, if practicable; and no covering was placed upon the bed of the road till it had become well compacted

and thoroughly dried. At proper intervals, on the slopes of hills, drains or paved catch-waters were made across the road, whenever the cost of constructing culverts rendered their use inexpedient. These catch-waters were made with a gradual curvature, so as to give no jolts to the wheels of carriages passing over them; but whenever the expense justified the introduction of culverts, they were used in preference, and in all cases where the water crossed the road, either in catch-waters or through culverts, sufficient pavements and overfalls were constructed to provide against the possibility of the road or banks being washed away by it.

The masonry of the bridges, culverts and side-walls were ordered to be repaired, whenever required, in a substantial manner, and care was taken that the mortar used was of good quality, without admixture of raw clay. All the masonry was well pointed with hydraulic mortar, and in no case was the pointing allowed to be put on after the middle of October. All masonry finished after this time was well covered, and pointed early in the spring. Care was taken, also, to provide means for carrying off the water from the bases of walls, to prevent the action of frost on their foundations; and it was considered highly important that all foundations in masonry should be well pointed with hydraulic mortar to a depth of eighteen inches below the surface of the ground.

By the year 1818 travel over the first great road across the Alleghany mountains into the Ohio basin had begun. The subsequent history of this highway and all the vicissitudes through which it has passed, has, in a measure, perhaps, dimmed the lustre of its early pride. The subject of transportation has

undergone such marvelous changes in these eighty years since the National Road was opened, that we are apt to forget the strength of the patriotism which made that road a reality. But compare it with the roadways built before it to accomplish similar ends, and the greatness of the undertaking can be appreciated. Over the beginnings of great historical movements there often hangs a cloud of obscurity. Over this heroic attempt, to make a feeble republic strong through unity, there is no obscurity. America won the west from England as England had won it from France — by conquest. Brave men were found who did what neither England nor France did do, settle the wilderness and begin the transformation of it. Large colonies of hardy men and women had gone into the Ohio valley, carrying in their hands the blessed Ordinance and guided by the very star of empire. Virginia had given the best of her sons and daughters to the meadow land of *Ken-ta-kee*, who were destined to clinch the republic's title to the Mississippi river. The Old Bay State had given her best blood to found the Old Northwest, at historic Marietta. New Jersey and Connecticut had sent their sons through vast wildernesses to found Cincinnati and Cleveland, names which to-day suggest the best there is in our American state. Without exaggeration, the building of the National Road from the Potomac to the Ohio river was the crowning act of all that had gone before. It embodied the prime idea in the Ordinance of 1787, and it proved that a republic of loyal people could scorn the old European theory that mountains are imperative boundaries of empire.

CHAPTER V.

BUILDING IN THE WEST.

The tales of those who knew the road in the west and those who knew it in the east are much alike. It is probable that there was one important distinction—the passenger traffic of the road between the Potomac and Ohio, which gave life on that portion of the road a peculiar flavor, was doubtless much smaller on the western division.

For many years the centre of western population was in the Ohio valley, and good steamers were plying the Ohio when the National Road was first opened. Indeed the road was originally intended for the accommodation of the lower Ohio valley.³¹ Still, as the century grew old and the interior population became considerable, the Ohio division of the road became a crowded thoroughfare. An old stage driver in eastern Ohio remembers when business was such that he and his companion Knights of

³¹ The early official correspondence concerning the route of the road shows plainly that it was really built for the benefit of the Chillicothe and Cincinnati settlements, which embraced a large portion of Ohio's population. The opening of river traffic in the first two decades of the century, however, had the effect of throwing the line of the road further northward through the capitals of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. Zane's trace, diverging from the National Road at Zanesville, played an important part in the development of southwestern Ohio, becoming the course of the Lancaster and Maysville pike.

Rein and Whip never went to bed for twenty nights, and more than a hundred teams might have been met in a score of miles.

When the road was built to Wheeling its greatest mission was accomplished—the portage path across the mountains was completed to a point where river navigation was almost always available. And yet less than half of the road was finished. It now touched the eastern extremity of the great state whose public lands were being sold in order to pay for its building. Westward lay the growing states of Indiana and Illinois, a per cent. of the sale of whose land had already been pledged to the road. Then came another moment when the great work paused and the original ambition of its friends was at hazard.

In 1820 Congress appropriated \$141,000 for completing the road from Washington, Pennsylvania, to Wheeling. In the same year \$10,000 was appropriated for laying out the road between Wheeling, Virginia, and a point on the left bank of the Mississippi river, between St. Louis and the mouth of the Illinois river. For four years the fate of the road west of the Ohio hung in the balance, during which time, the road was menaced by the spectre of unconstitutionality, already described. But on the third day of March, 1825, a bill was passed by Congress appropriating one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for building the road to Zanesville, Ohio, and the extension of the surveys to the permanent seat of government in Missouri, to pass by the seats of government of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.³² Two years later \$170,000 was appropriated to complete the road to Zanesville, Ohio, and in

³² See Appropriation No. 14, in Appendix.

1829 an additional appropriation for continuing it westward was made.³³

It has been noted that the National Road from Cumberland to Wheeling was built on a general alignment of a former thoroughfare of the red men and the pioneers. So with much of the course west of the Ohio. Between Wheeling and Zanesville the National Road followed the course of the first road made through Ohio, the celebrated route, marked out, by way of Lancaster and Chillicothe, to Kentucky, by Colonel Ebenezer Zane, and which bore the name of Zane's Trace. This first road built in Ohio was authorized by an act of Congress passed May 17, 1796.³⁴ This thoroughfare was rendered necessary by the large amount of return traffic from the southwestern Ohio settlements and Kentucky. The vast number of immigrants which, by 1796, had journeyed to Kentucky, needed an overland thoroughfare to Pennsylvania and the east, which afforded a shorter course than the roundabout Wilderness Road. It was easy to descend the Ohio, but a tedious task to return by water, and steam packets were not plying in that day (1796).

A description is left us of this first white man's public highway beyond the Ohio which is interesting in this connection:

"We came back by Cincinnati, and from there went to the mouth of Soldier's Run, on Brush Creek, seven miles from its mouth * * * we started back to Pennsylvania on horseback, as there was no getting up

³³ See Appropriations Nos. 20 and 21, in Appendix.

³⁴ *Private laws of the United States*, May 17, -1796.

the river at that day * * * There was one house (Treiber's) on Lick branch five miles from where West Union now is * * * The next house is where Sinking Spring or Middleton is now. The next was at Chillicothe, which was just then commenced. We encamped one night on Massie's Run, say two or three miles from the falls of Paint Creek where the trace crossed that stream. From Chillicothe to Lancaster, the trace then went through Pickaway Plains * * * There was a cabin some three or four miles below the plains and another at their eastern edge, and one or two more between that and Lancaster * * * Here we staid the third night. From Lancaster we went the next day to Zanesville, passing several small beginnings. I recollect no improvement between Zanesville and Wheeling except one small one at the mouth of Indian Wheeling Creek, opposite Wheeling."³⁵

This route through Ohio was a well worn road a quarter of a century before the National Road was extended across the Ohio river.

The act of 1825, authorizing the extension of the great road into the state of Ohio, was greeted with intense enthusiasm by the people of the west. The fear that the road would not be continued beyond the Ohio river was generally entertained, and for good reasons. The debate of constitutionality, which had

³⁵ "*American Pioneer*," Vol. II, p. 158. Cf. "*Franklinton (Ohio) Centennial*," p. 22.

been going on for several years, increased the fear. And yet it would have been breaking faith with the west by the National Government to have failed to continue the road.

The act appropriated \$150,000 for an extension of the road from Wheeling to Zanesville, Ohio, and work was immediately undertaken. The Ohio was by far the greatest body of water which the road crossed, and for many years the passage from Wheeling to the opposite side of the Ohio, Bridgeport, was made a ferry. Later a great bridge, the admiration of the country side, was erected. The road entered Ohio in Belmont county, and, eventually, crossed the state in a due line west, not deviating its course even to touch cities of such importance as Newark or Dayton, although, in the case of the former at least, such a course would have been less expensive than the one pursued. Passing due west the road was built through Belmont, Guernsey, Muskingum, Licking, Franklin, Madison, Clark, Montgomery and Preble counties, a distance of over 300 miles. A larger portion of the National Road which was actually completed lay in Ohio than in all other states through which it passed combined.

The work on the road between Wheeling and Zanesville was begun in 1825-26. Ground was broken with great ceremony opposite the Court House at St. Clairsville, Belmont county, July 4, 1825. An address was given by Mr. Wm. B. Hubbard. The average cost per mile of the road in eastern Ohio was much less than the cost in Pennsylvania, averaging only about \$3,400 per mile. This included three inch layers of broken stone, masonry bridges and culverts. Large appropriations were made for the road in succeeding years and the work went on from

Zanesville, due west to Columbus. The course of the road between Zanesville and Columbus was perhaps the first instance where the road ignored, entirely, the general alignment of a previous road between the same two points. The old road between Zanesville and Columbus went by way of Newark and Granville, a roundabout course, but probably the most practicable, as any one may attest who has traveled over the National Road in the western part of Muskingum county. A long and determined effort was made by citizens of Newark and Granville, than whom there were no more influential in Ohio, to have the new road follow the course of the old, but without effect. Ohio had not, like Pennsylvania, demanded that the road should pass through certain towns. The only direction named by law was that the road should go west on the straightest possible line through the capital of each state.

The course between Zanesville and Columbus was located by the United States Commissioner, Jonathan Knight, Esq., who accompanied by his associates (one of whom was the youthful Joseph E. Johnson) arrived in Columbus, October 5, 1825. Bids for contracts for building the road from Zanesville to Columbus were advertised to be received at the Superintendent's office at Zanesville, from the 23rd to the 30th of June, 1829. The road was fully completed by 1833. The road entered Columbus on Friend (now Main) street. There was great rivalry between the North End and South End over the road's entrance into the city. The matter was compromised by having it enter on Friend street and take its exit on West Broad, traversing High to make the connection.

Concerning the route out of Columbus, the *Ohio State Journal* said:

“The adopted route leaves Columbus at Broad Street, crosses the Scioto river at the end of that street and on the new wooden bridge erected in 1826 by an individual having a charter from that state. The bridge is not so permanent nor so spacious as could be desired, yet it may answer the intended purposes for several years to come. Thence the location passes through the village of Franklinton, and across the low grounds to the bluff which is surrounded at a depression formed by a ravine, and at a point nearly in the prolongation in the direction of Broad Street; thence by a small angle, a straight line to the bluffs of Darby creek; to pass the creek and its bluffs some angles were necessary; thence nearly a straight line through Deer Creek Barrens, and across that stream to the dividing grounds, between the Scioto and the Miami waters; thence nearly down to the valley of Beaver Creek.”

The preliminary survey westward was completed in 1826 and extended to Indianapolis, Indiana. Bids were advertised for contract west of Columbus in July 1830. During the next seven years the work was pushed on through Madison, Clark, Montgomery and Preble counties and across the Indiana line. Proposals for bids for building the road west of Springfield, Ohio, was advertised for, during August 1837, a condition being that the first eight miles be finished by January 1838. These proposals

are interesting to-day. The following is the advertisement for proposal of bids referred to above.

NATIONAL ROAD IN OHIO.—Notice to contractors.—Proposals will be received by the undersigned, until the 19th of August inst., for clearing and grubbing eight miles of the line of National Road west of this place, from the 55th to the 62nd mile inclusive west of Columbus—the work to be completed on or before the 1st day of January, 1838.

The trees and growth to be entirely cleared away to the distance of 40 feet on each side of the central axis of the road, and all trees impending over that space to be cut down; all stumps and roots to be carefully grubbed out to the distance of 20 feet on each side of the axis, and where occasional high embankments, or spacious side drains may be required, the grubbing is to extend to the distance of 30 feet on each side of the same axis. All the timber, brush, stumps and roots to be entirely removed from the above space of 80 feet in width and the earth excavated in grubbing, to be thrown back into the hollows formed by removing the stumps and roots.

The proposals will state the price per linear rod or mile, and the offers of competent, or responsible individuals only will be accepted.

Notice is hereby given to the proprietors of the land, on that part of the line of the National Road, lying between Springfield and the Miami river to remove all fences and other barriers now across the line a reasonable

time being allowed them to secure that portion of their present crops which may lie upon the location of the road.

G. DUTTON,

Lieutenant U. S. Engineers Supt.

National Road Office, Springfield, Ohio.

August 2nd, 1837.³⁶

Indianapolis was the centre of National Road operations in Indiana, and from that city the road was built both eastward and westward. The road entered Indiana through Wayne county but was not completed until taken under a charter from the state, by the Wayne County Turnpike Company, and finished in 1850. When Indiana and Illinois received the road from the national government it was not completed, though graded and bridged as far west as Vandalia, then the capital of Illinois.

The National Road was not to Indiana and Illinois what it was to Ohio, for somewhat similar reasons that it was less to Ohio than to Pennsylvania, for the further west it was built the older the century grew, and the newer the means of transportation which were coming rapidly to the front. This was true, even, from the very beginning. The road was hardly a decade old in Pennsylvania, when two canals and a railroad over the portage, offered a rival means of transportation across the state from Harrisburg to Pittsburg.³⁷ When the road reached Wheeling,

³⁶ *Springfield Pioneer*, August 1837; also *Ohio State Journal*, August 8, 1837.

³⁷ Martineau's "*Society in America*. Vol. I. p. 17.

Ohio river travel was very much improved, and a large proportion of traffic went down the river by packet. When the road entered Indiana, new dreams of internal improvements were underway beside which a turnpike was almost a relic. In 1835-36, Indiana passed an internal improvement bill, authorizing three great canals and a railway.³⁸ The proposed railway, from the village of Madison on the Ohio river northward to Indianapolis, is a pregnant suggestion of the amount of traffic to Indiana from the east which passed down the Ohio from Wheeling, instead of going overland through Ohio.³⁹ This was, undoubtedly, mostly passenger traffic, which was very heavy at this time.⁴⁰

But the dawning of a new era in transportation had already been heralded in the national hall of legislation. In 1832 the House Committee on Roads and Canals had discussed in their report the question of the relative cost of various means of intercommunication, including railways. Each report of the committee for the next five years mentioned the same subject, until, in 1836, the matter of substituting a railway for the National Road between Columbus and the Mississippi was very seriously considered.

In that year a House Bill (No. 64) came back from the Senate amended in two particulars, one, authorizing that the

³⁸ Wabash-Erie, Whitewater and Indiana Central Canals and the Madison and Indianapolis railway, Cf. Atwater's *Tour*, p. 31.

³⁹ "*Illinois in '37*," p. 766-7. This was probably passenger and freight traffic as the mails went overland from the very first, until the building of railways. Cf. Note 17.

⁴⁰ *Ohio State Journal*, January 8, 1836.

appropriations made for Illinois should be confined to grading and bridging only, and should not be construed as implying that Congress had pledged itself to macadamize the road.

The House Committee struck out these amendments and substituted a more sweeping one than any yet suggested in the history of the road. This amendment provided that a railroad be constructed west of Columbus with the money appropriated for a highway. The committee reported, that, after long study of the question, many reasons appeared why the change should be made. It was, they said, stated to the committee by respectable authority, that much of the stone for the masonry and covering for the road east of Columbus had to be transported for considerable distances over bad roads across the adjacent country at very great expense, and that, in its continuance westward through Ohio, this source of expense would be greatly augmented. Nevertheless the compact with the admission of the western states supposed the western termination of the road should be the Mississippi. The estimated expense of the road's extension to Vandalia, Illinois, sixty-five miles east of the Mississippi, amounted to \$4,732,622.83, making the total expense of the entire road amount to about ten millions. The committee said it would have been unfaithful to the trust reposed in it, if it had not bestowed much attention upon this matter, and it did not hesitate to ground on a recent report of the Secretary of War, this very important change of the plan of the road. This report of the War Department showed that the distance between Columbus and Vandalia was 334 miles and the estimated cost of completing the road that far would be \$4,732,632.83, of which \$1,120,-

320.01 had been expended and \$3,547,894.83 remained to be expended in order to finish the road to that extent according to plans then in operation; that after its completion it would require an annual expenditure on the 334 miles of \$392,809.71 to keep it in repair, the engineers computing the annual cost of repairs of the portion of the road between Wheeling and Columbus (127 miles) at \$99,430.30.

On the other hand the estimated cost of a railway from Columbus to Vandalia on the route of the National Road was \$4,280,540.37, and the cost of preservation and repair of such a road, \$173,718.25. Thus the computed cost of the railway exceeded that of the turnpike but about 20 per cent., while the annual expense of repairing the former would fall short of more than 56 per cent. In addition to the advantage of reduced cost was that of faster time consumed in transportation, for, assuming, as the committee did, a rate of speed of fifteen miles per hour (which was five miles per hour less than the then customary speed of railway traveling in England on the Liverpool and Manchester railroad, and about the ordinary rate of speed of the American locomotives) it would require only 23 hours for news from Baltimore to reach Columbus, forty-two hours to Indianapolis, fifty-four to Vandalia, and fifty-eight to St. Louis.

One interesting argument for the substitution of the railway for the National Road was given as follows:

“When the relation of the general government to the states which it unites is justly regarded; when it is considered it is especially charged with the common defense; that for the attainment of this end and the militia

must be combined in time of war with the regular army and the state with the United States troops; that mutual prompt and vigorous concert should mark the efforts of both for the accomplishment of a common end and the safety of all; it seems needless to dwell upon the importance of transmitting intelligence between the state and federal government with the least possible delay and concentrating in a period of common danger their joint efforts with the greatest possible dispatch. It is alike needless to detail the comparative advantages of a railroad and an ordinary turnpike under such circumstances. A few weeks, nay, a very few days, or hours, may determine the issue of a campaign, though happily for the United States their distance from a powerful enemy may limit the contingency of war to destruction short of that by which the events of an hour had involved ruin of an empire."

Despite the weight of argument presented by the house committee their amendment was in turn stricken out, and the bill of 1836 appropriated \$600,000 for the National Road, both of the Senate Amendments which the House Committee had stricken out being incorporated in the bill.

CHAPTER VI.

OPERATION AND CONTROL.

The National Road was built by the United States government under the supervision of the War Department. Of its builders, whose names will ever live in the annals of the central west, Brigadier-General Gratiot, Captains Delafield, McKee, Bliss, Bartlett Hartzell, Williams, Colquit and Cass and Lieutenants Mansfield, Vance and Pickell are best remembered on the eastern division. Nearly all became heroes of the Mexican or Civil wars, McKee falling at Buena Vista, Williams at Monterey, and Mansfield, then Major-general, at Antietam.

Among the best known supervisors in the west were Commissioners C. W. Weaver, G. Dutton and Jonathan Knight.

The road had been built across the Ohio river but a short time, when it was realized that a revenue must be raised for its support from those who traveled upon it. As we have seen, a law was passed in both houses of Congress, in 1824, authorizing the government to erect toll gates and charge toll on the National Road as the states should surrender this right to the government.⁴¹ This bill was vetoed by President Monroe, on grounds already stated, and the road fell into a very bad condition. But what the National government could not do the individual states could do, and, consequently, as fast as repairs were completed,

⁴¹ *Laws of Pennsylvania* (pamphlet), p. 500.

the government surrendered the road to the states through which it passed. Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Virginia, accepted completed portions of the road between 1831 and 1834.⁴² The Legislatures of Ohio and Pennsylvania at once passed laws concerning the erection of toll gates, Ohio authorizing one gate every twenty miles, February 4, 1831,⁴³ and Pennsylvania authorizing the erection of six toll gates by an act passed April 11, of the same year.⁴⁴

The gates in Pennsylvania were located as follows: Gate No. 1 at the east end of Petersburg. No. 2 near Mt. Washington, No. 3 near Searights, No. 4 near Beallsville, No. 5 near Washington, and No. 6 near West Alexander.

The National Road was under the control of commissioners appointed by the President of the United States, the state legislatures, or governors.⁴⁵ Upon these commissioners lay the task of repairing the road, which included the making of contracts, reviewing the work done, and rendering payment for the same. None of the work of building the road fell on the state officials. Therefore, in Ohio, two great departments were simultaneously in operation, the building of the road by the government officials, and the work of operating and repairing the road, under state officials. Two commissioners were appointed in Pennsylvania, in 1847, one acting east, and the other west, of the Monongahela

⁴² See Appropriation No. 27, in Appendix.

⁴³ *Laws of Ohio* XXIX, p. 76. For specimen advertisement for bids for erection of toll gates in Ohio see Appendix No. 4, in Appendix.

⁴⁴ *Laws of Pennsylvania* (pamphlet), p. 419.

⁴⁵ *Laws of Pennsylvania* (pamphlet), p. 523.

river.⁴⁶ In 1836 Ohio placed all her works of internal improvement under the supervision of a Board of Public Works, into whose hands the National Road passed.⁴⁷ Special commissioners were appointed from time to time by the state legislatures to perform special duties, such as overseeing work being done, auditing accounts or settling disputes.⁴⁸ Two resident engineers were appointed over the eastern and western divisions of the road in Ohio, thus doing away with the continual employment and dismissal of the most important of all officials. These engineers made quarterly reports concerning the road's condition.⁴⁹

The road was conveniently divided by the several states into departments. East of the Ohio river, the Monongahela river was a division line, the road being divided by it into two divisions.⁵⁰ West of the Ohio the eighty-seventh mile post from Wheeling was, at one time, a division line between two departments in Ohio.⁵¹ Later, the road in Ohio was cut up into as many divisions as counties through which it passed.⁵² The work of repairing was let by contract, for which bids had been previously advertised. Contracts were usually let in one mile sections, sometimes for a longer space, notice of the length being given in the advertisement for bids. Contractors were compelled to give testi-

⁴⁶ *Idem*, p. 477.

⁴⁷ *Laws of Ohio* XXXIV, p. 41; XXV, p. 7.

⁴⁸ *Idem* XXIII, p. 447.

⁴⁹ *Idem* XLIII, p. 89.

⁵⁰ *Laws of Pennsylvania* (pamphlet), p. 477.

⁵¹ *Laws of Ohio* XLIII, p. 140.

⁵² *Idem* LVIII, p. 140.

monials of good character and reliability; though one contract, previously quoted, professed to be satisfied with "competent or responsible individuals only"! Time limit was usually named in the contract, with penalties for failure to complete the work in time assigned.

The building of the road was hailed with delight by hundreds of contractors and thousands of laborers, who now had employment offered them worthy of their best labor, and the work, when well done, stood as a lasting monument to their skill. Old papers and letters speak frequently of the enthusiasm awakened among the laboring classes by the building of the great road, and of the lively scenes witnessed in those busy years. Contractors, who early earned a reputation, followed the road westward, taking up contract after contract as opportunity offered. Farmers who lived on the route of the road engaged in the work when not busy in their fields, and for their labor, and the use of the teams received good pay. Thus not only in its heyday did the road prove a benefit to the country through which it passed, but at the very beginning it became such, and not a little of the money spent upon it by the government went into the very pockets from which it came by the sale of land.

The great pride taken by the states in the National Road is brought out significantly in the laws passed concerning it. Pennsylvania and Ohio legislatures passed laws as early as 1828, and within three days of each other (Pennsylvania, April 7,⁵³

⁵³ *Laws of Pennsylvania* (pamphlet), p. 500.

and Ohio, April 11⁵⁴), looking toward the permanent repair and preservation of the road. There were penalties for breaking or defacing the mile-stones, culverts, parapet walls and bridges. A person found guilty of such act of vandalism was "fined in a sum of not more than five hundred dollars, or be imprisoned in a dungeon of the jail of the county, and be fed on bread and water only, not exceeding thirty days, or both, at the discretion of the court."⁵⁵ There were penalties for allowing the drains to become obstructed, for premature traveling on unfinished portions of the road bed;⁵⁶ for permitting a wagon to stand over night on the road bed, and for locking wheels, except where ice made this alternative necessary. Local authorities were ordered to build suitable culverts wherever the roads connected with the National Road. "Directors" were ordered to be set up, to warn

⁵⁴ *Laws of Ohio* XXVI, p. 41.

⁵⁵ *Laws of Ohio* XXVI, p. 41.

⁵⁶ Concerning the celerity of opening the road after the completion of contracts, Captain Weaver, Superintendent in Ohio, made the following statement in his report of 1827:

"Upon the first, second and third divisions, with a cover of metal of six inches in thickness, composed of stone reduced to particles of not more than four ounces in weight, the travel was admitted in the month of June last. Those divisions that lie eastward of the village of Fairview, together embrace a distance of very nearly twenty-eight and a half miles, and were put under contract on the first of July, and first and thirty-first of August, 1825. This portion of the road has been in pursuance of contracts made last fall and spring, covered with the third stratum of metal of three inches in thickness, and similarly reduced. On parts of this distance, say about five miles made up of detached pieces, the travel was admitted at the commencement of the last winter and has continued on

drivers to turn to the left when passing other teams.⁵⁷ The rates of toll were ordered to be posted where the public could see them.⁵⁸ "Beacons" were erected along the margin of the road bed to keep teams from turning aside. Laws were passed forbidding the removal of these.⁵⁹

The operation of the National Road included the establishment of the toll system, which provided the revenue for keeping it in repair; and from the tolls the most vital statistics concerning the old road are to be obtained. Immediately upon the passing of the road into the control of the individual states, toll gates were authorized, as previously noted. Schedules of tariff were published by the various states. The schedule of 1831 in Pennsylvania was as follows:

to this time to render it compact and solid, it is very firm, elastic and smooth. The effect has been to dissipate the prejudices which existed very generally, in the minds of the citizens, against the McAdam system, and to establish full confidence over the former plan of constructing roads.

"On the first day of July, the travel was admitted upon the fourth and fifth divisions, and upon the second, third, fourth and fifth sections of the sixth division of the road, in its graduated state. This part of the line was put under contract on the eleventh day of September, 1826, terminating at a point three miles west of Cambridge, and embraces a distance of twenty-three and a half miles. On the twenty-first of July the balance of the line to Zanesville, comprising a distance of a little over twenty-one miles, was let."

⁵⁷ *Laws of Pennsylvania* (pamphlet), p. 419.

⁵⁸ *Laws of Ohio* XXVI, p. 41; *Laws of Pennsylvania* (pamphlet), p. 102.

⁵⁹ *Idem* XXVI, p. 41.

For every score of sheep or hogs.....	.06
“ “ “ cattle .....	.12
“ “ led or driven horse.....	.03
“ “ horse and rider.....	.04
“ “ sleigh or sled, for each horse or pair of oxen drawing the same .....	.03
“ “ dearborn, sulky, chair or chaise with one horse.....	.06
“ “ chariot, coach, coachee, stage, wagon, phaeton, chaise, with two horses and four wheels:.....	.12
“ either of the carriages last mentioned with four horses.....	.18
“ every other carriage of pleasure, under whatever name it may go, the like sum, according to the number of wheels and horses drawing the same.	..
“ “ cart of wagon whose wheels shall exceed two and one- half inches in breadth, and not exceeding four inches.	.04
“ “ horse or pair of oxen drawing the same, and every other cart or wagon, whose wheels shall exceed four inches, and not exceed five inches in breadth.....	.03
“ “ horse or pair of oxen drawing the same, and for every other cart or wagon, whose wheels shall exceed six inches, and not more than eight inches.....	.02
“ “ horse or pair of oxen drawing the same, all other carts or wagons whose wheels shall exceed eight inches in breadth	free

The tolls established the same year in Ohio (see table, page following) were higher than those charged in Pennsylvania.

The philosophy of the toll system is patent. Rates of toll were determined by the wear on the road. Tolls were charged in order to keep the road in repair, and, consequently, each animal or vehicle was taxed in proportion as it damaged the road-bed. Cattle were taxed twice as heavily as sheep or hogs, and, according to the tariff of 1845, hogs were taxed twice as much

as sheep. The tariff on vehicles was determined by the width of the tires used, for the narrower the tire the more the roadbed was cut up. Wide tires were encouraged, those over six inches (later eight) went free, serving practically as rollers.

TOLLS ON THE NATIONAL ROAD IN OHIO (1831-1900.)

	1831	1832	1836	1837	1845 ⁶⁰	1900
Score sheep or hogs.....	.10	.05	.06 $\frac{1}{4}$	.06 $\frac{1}{4}$	} $\begin{matrix} .05 \\ .10 \end{matrix}$	.12
Score cattle .....	.20	.10	.12 $\frac{1}{2}$	.12 $\frac{1}{2}$		.25
Every horse, mule or ass, led or driven .....	.03	.01 $\frac{1}{2}$	.02	.03	.03	.05
Every horse and rider.....	.06 $\frac{1}{4}$	.04	.06 $\frac{1}{4}$	.06 $\frac{1}{4}$	.05	.06
Every sled or sleigh drawn by one horse or ox.....	.12 $\frac{1}{2}$	.06 $\frac{1}{4}$	.08	.06	.05	.12
Every horse in addition.....	.06 $\frac{1}{4}$	.04	.04	.04	.05	.06
Every dearborn, sulky, chair or chaise, 1 horse.....	.12 $\frac{1}{2}$	.08	.12 $\frac{1}{2}$	.12 $\frac{1}{2}$	.10	.12
Every horse in addition.....	.06 $\frac{1}{4}$	.04	.06 $\frac{1}{4}$	.04	.05	.06
Every chariot, coach, coachee, horses .....	.18 $\frac{3}{4}$	.12 $\frac{1}{2}$	.18 $\frac{3}{4}$	.18 $\frac{3}{4}$	...	.30
Every horse in addition.....	.06 $\frac{1}{4}$	.03	.06 $\frac{1}{4}$	.06 $\frac{1}{4}$	...	.12
Every vehicle wheels under 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in breadth.....	.12 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	.12 $\frac{1}{2}$	.10	...	...
Every vehicle wheels under 4 in. in breadth.....	.06 $\frac{1}{4}$	.06 $\frac{1}{4}$	.08	.08	...	...
Every horse drawing same....	.03	.02	.04	.05	...	...

⁶⁰ Tolls for 1845 were based on number of horses, each additional horse being taxed about .20. Tolls for 1900 (in Franklin county, Ohio) practically identical with tolls of 1845.

	1831	1832	1836	1837	1845	1900
Every vehicle wheels exceeding four and not exceeding five inches .....	.04	...	...	...	...	...
Every vehicle wheels exceeding four and not exceeding six inches .....	...	.02	.04	.06 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...
Every horse or ox drawing same .....	.02	.02	.02	.05	...	...
Every vehicle wheels exceeding six inches.....	...	...	...	.04	...	...
Every person occupying seat in mail stage.....	.04	.03	...	...	...	...

Estimates differed in various states but averaged up quite evenly. To the rising generation, to whom toll gates are almost unknown, a study of the toll system affords novel entertainment, helping one to realize something of one of the most serious questions of public economics of two generations ago. Toll gates averaged one in eighteen or twenty miles in Pennsylvania and one in ten miles in Ohio, with tolls a little higher than half the rate in Pennsylvania.

Toll gate keepers were appointed by the Governor in the early days in Ohio,⁶¹ but, on most of the road, by the commissioners. These keepers received a salary which was deducted from their collections, the remainder being turned over to the commissioners. The salary established in Ohio in 1832 was \$180,000 per annum.⁶² In 1836 it was increased to \$200,000 per annum,

⁶¹ *Laws of Ohio* XXX, p. 321.

⁶² *Idem* XXX, p. 8.

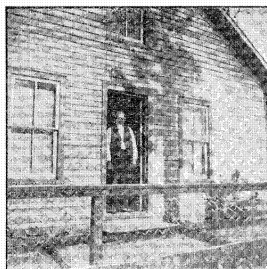
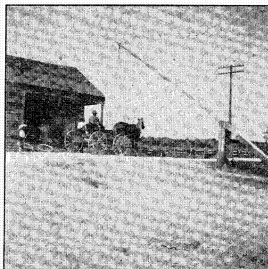
and toll keepers were also allowed to retain five per cent. of all tolls received above one thousand dollars.⁶³ In 1845 toll keepers were ordered to make returns on the first Monday in each month, and the allowance of their per cent. on receipts over one thousand dollars was cut off, leaving their salary at \$200.00 per annum.⁶⁴ Equally perplexing with the question of just tolls was found to be the question of determining what and who should have free use of the National Road. This list was increased at various times, and, in most states, including the following at one time or another: Persons going to, or returning from public worship, muster, common place of business on farm or woodland, funeral, mill, place of election, common place of trading or marketing within the county in which they resided. This included persons, wagons, carriages and horses or oxen drawing the same. No toll was charged school children or clergymen, or for passage of stage and horses carrying United States mail, or any wagon or carriage laden with United States property, or cavalry, troops, arms or military stores of the United States, or any single state, or for persons on duty in the military service of the United States, or of the militia of any single state. In Pennsylvania, a certain stage line made the attempt to carry passengers by the toll gates free, taking advantage of the clauses allowing free passage of the United States mail by putting a mail sack on each passenger coach. The stage was halted and the matter taken into court, where the case was decided against

⁶³ Idem XXXIV, p. 111.

⁶⁴ Idem XLIII, p. 89.



PENNSYLVANIA TOLL HOUSE.



TOLL HOUSE AND GATE, FRANKLIN COUNTY, OHIO. — AN OLD DRIVER OF THE "BOSTON NIGHT MAIL."

the stage company, and persons traveling with mail coaches were compelled to pay toll.⁶⁵ Ohio took advantage of Pennsylvania's experience and was forward in passing a law that passengers on stage coaches should pay toll.⁶⁶ Pennsylvania exempted persons hauling coal for home consumption from paying toll.⁶⁷ Many varied and curious attempts to evade payment of tolls were made, and laws were passed inflicting heavy fine upon all convicted of such malefaction. In Ohio, toll gate keepers were empowered to arrest those suspected of such attempts, and, upon conviction, the fine went into the road fund of the county wherein the offense occurred.⁶⁸

Persons making long trips on the road could pay toll for the entire distance and receive a certificate guaranteeing free passage to their destination.⁶⁹ Compounding rates were early put in force applying, in Ohio, to persons residing within eight miles of the road,⁷⁰ the radius being extended, later, to ten.⁷¹ Passengers in the stages were counted by the toll gate keepers and the company operating the stage charged with the toll. At the end of each month, stage companies settled with the authorities. Thus it became possible for the stage drivers to deceive the gate keepers, and save their companies large sums of money. Drivers

⁶⁵ *Laws of Pennsylvania* (pamphlet), pp. 534, 164, 430-1.

⁶⁶ *Laws of Ohio* XXXV, p. 7.

⁶⁷ *Laws of Pennsylvania* (pamphlet), p. 353.

⁶⁸ *Laws of Ohio* XXX, p. 8.

⁶⁹ *Idem* XXIX, p. 76.

⁷⁰ *Idem* XXX, p. 8.

⁷¹ *Idem* XXX, p. 7.

were compelled to declare the number of passengers in their stage, and in the event of failing to do so, gate keepers were allowed to charge the company for as many passengers as the stage could contain.⁷²

Stage lines were permitted to compound for yearly passage of stages over the road and the large companies took advantage of the provision, though the passengers were counted by the gate keepers. It may be seen that gate keepers were in a position to embezzle large sums of money if they were so minded, and it is undoubted that this was done in more than one instance. Indeed, with a score and a half of gates, and a great many traveling on computation rates, it would have been remarkable if some employed in all those years during which the toll system was in general operation did not steal. But this is lifting the veil from the good old days!

As will be seen later the amounts handled by the gate keepers were no small sums. In the best days of the road the average amount handled by toll gate keepers in Pennsylvania was about \$1800.00 per annum. In Ohio, with gates every ten miles, the average (reported) collection was about \$2,000.00 in the best years. It is difficult to reconcile the statement made by Mr. Searight concerning the comparative amount of business done on various portions of the National Road, with the figures he himself quotes. He says: "It is estimated that two-fifths of the trade and travel of the road were diverted at Brownsville, and fell into the channel furnished at that point

⁷² Idem XXXII, p 265; XXX, p. 7.

by the slack water navigation of the Monongahela river, and a like proportion descended the Ohio from Wheeling, and the remaining fifth continued on the road to Columbus, Ohio, and points further west. The travel west of Wheeling was chiefly local, and the road presented scarcely a tithe of the thrift, push, whirl and excitement which characterized it east of that point.”⁷³ on another page Mr. Searight gives the account of the old time superintendents of the road in Pennsylvania in its most prosperous era, one dating from November 10, 1840, to November 10, 1841,⁷⁴ the other from May 1, 1843, to December 31, 1844.⁷⁵ In the first of these the amount of tolls received from the eastern division of the road (east of the Monongahela) is two thousand dollars less than the amount received from the western division! Even after the amounts paid by the two great stage companies are deducted, a balance of over a thousand dollars is left in favor of the division west of the Monongahela river. In the second report, \$4,242.37 more was received on the western division of the road than on the eastern, and even after the amounts received from the stage companies are deducted, the receipts from the eastern division barely exceed those of the western. How can it be that “two-fifths of the trade and travel of the road were diverted at Brownsville”? And the further west Mr. Searight goes, the more does he seem to err, for the road west of the Ohio river, instead of showing “scarcely a tithe of the thrift, push, whirl and excitement which characterized it east of that point”

⁷³ *The Old Pike*, p. 298.

⁷⁴ *Idem*, p. 362-6.

⁷⁵ *Idem*, p. 367-70.

seems to have done a greater business than the portion east of the Ohio river. For instance, when the road was completed as many miles in Ohio as were built in Pennsylvania, the returns from the portion in Ohio (1833) was \$12,259.42-4 (in the very first year that the road was completed), while in Pennsylvania the receipts in 1840 were only \$18,429.25, after the road had been used for twenty-two years. In the same year (1840) Ohio collected \$51,364.67 from her National Road toll gates — about three times the amount collected in Pennsylvania. Again Mr. Searight gives a Pennsylvania commissioner's receipts for the twenty months beginning May 1, 1843, as \$37,109.11, while the receipts from the road in Ohio in only the twelve months of 1843 was \$32,157.02! At the same time the tolls charged in Ohio were a trifle in excess of those imposed in Pennsylvania, therefore, Ohio's advantage must be curtailed slightly. On the other hand it should be taken into consideration that the National Road in Pennsylvania was almost the only road across the portion of the state through which it ran, while in Ohio other roads were used, especially clay roads running parallel with the National Road, by drivers of sheep and pigs, as an aged informant testifies. As Mr. Searight has said, the travel of the road west of the Ohio may have been chiefly of a local nature, yet his seeming error concerning the relative amount of travel on the two divisions in his own state, makes his statements less trustworthy in the matter. Still it can be readily believed that a great deal of continental trade did pass down the Monongahela after traversing the eastern division of the road and that increased local trade on the western division rendered the toll receipts of both divisions

quite equal. Local travel on the eastern division may have been light, comparatively speaking. Mr. Searight undoubtedly meant that two-fifths of the through trade stopped at Brownsville and Wheeling and one-fifth only went on into Ohio. The total amount of tolls received by Pennsylvania from all roads, canals, etc., in 1836 was about \$50,000, while Ohio received a greater sum than that in 1838 from tolls on the National Road alone, and the road was not completed further west than Springfield.

A study of the amounts of tolls taken in from the National Road by the various states will show at once the volume of the business done. Ohio received from the National Road in forty-seven years nearly a million and a quarter dollars. An itemized list of this great revenue is interesting, showing, as it does, the varying fortunes of the great road:

YEAR	TOLLS	YEAR	TOLLS
1831	\$2,777 16	1846	28,946 21
1832	9,067 99	1847	42,614 59
1833	12,259 42-4	1848	49,025 66
1834	12,693 65	1849	46,253 38
1835	16,442 26	1850	37,060 11
1836	27,455 13	1851	44,063 65
1837	39,843 35	1852	36,727 26
1838	50,413 17	1853	35,354 40
1839	62,496 10	1854	18,154 59
1840	51,364 67	1855	6,105 00
1841	36,951 33	1856	6,105 00
1842	44,656 18	1857	6,105 00
1843	32,157 02	1858	6,105 00
1844	30,801 13	1859	5,551 36
1845	31,439 38	1860	11,221 74

YEAR	TOLLS	YEAR	TOLLS
1861	21,492 41	1871	19,244 00
1862	19,000 00	1872	18,002 09
1863	20,000 00	1873	17,940 37
1864	20,000 00	1874	17,971 21
1865	20,000 00	1875	17,265 12
1866	19,000 00	1876	9,601 68
1867	20,631 34	1877	288 91
1868	18,934 49		
1869	20,577 04	Total	\$1,139,795 30-4
1870	19,635 75		

About 1850 Ohio began leasing portions of the National Road to private companies. In 1854 the entire distance from Springfield to the Ohio river was leased for a term of ten years for \$6,105 a year. Commissioners were appointed to view the road continually and make the lessees keep it in good condition as when it came into their hands.⁷⁶ Before the contract had half expired, the Board of Public Works was ordered (April, 1859) to take the road to relieve the lessees.⁷⁷ In 1870 the proper limits of the road were designated to be "a space of eighty feet in width, and where the road passed over a street in any city of the second class, the width should conform to the width of that street" and such cities should own it so long as it was kept in repair.⁷⁸

Finally, in 1876, the state of Ohio authorized commissioners of the several counties to take so much of the road as lay in

⁷⁶ *Laws of Ohio* LII, p. 126.

⁷⁷ *Idem* LVI, p. 159.

⁷⁸ *Idem* LXX, p. 194.

each county under their control. It was stipulated that toll gates should not average more than one in ten miles, and that no toll be collected between Columbus and the Ohio Central Lunatic Asylum. The county commissioners were to complete any unfinished portions of the road.⁷⁹

Later (1877) the rates of toll were left to the discretion of the county commissioners, with this provision:

“That when the consent of the Congress of the United States shall have been obtained thereto, that the county commissioners of any county having a population under the last Federal census of more than fifteen thousand six hundred and less than fifteen thousand six hundred and fifty shall have the power when they deem it for the best interest of the road, or when the people whom the road accommodates wish to submit to the legal voters of the county, at any regular or special election, the question, Shall the National Road be a free turnpike road? And when the question is so submitted, and a majority of all those voting on said question, shall vote yes, it shall be the duty of said commissioners to sell gates, toll-houses and any other property belonging to the road to the highest bidder, the proceeds of the sale to be applied to the repair of the road, and declare so much of the road as lies within their county a free turnpike road to be kept in repair

⁷⁹ *Idem* LXXIII, p. 105.

in the way and manner provided by law for the repair of free turnpikes."⁸⁰

The receipts from the Franklin county, Ohio, toll gate, now in operation, for the year 1899 was as follows:

January	\$36 00
February	32 80
March	39 90
April	80 75
May	67 25
June	54 85
July	47 15
August	35 75
September	29 27
October	29 26
November	35 05
December	34 05
Total	<hr/> \$522 08

It will be noted that April was the heaviest month of the year. The gate keeper receives a salary of \$30.00 per month.

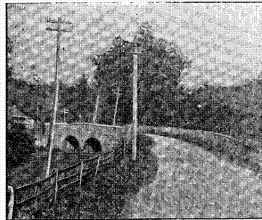
It is hardly necessary to say that the great American highway was never a self-supporting institution. The fact that it was estimated that the yearly expense of repairing the Ohio division of the road was \$100,000.00 while the greatest amount of tolls collected in its most prosperous year (1839) was hardly half that amount (\$62,496.10) proves this conclusively. Investigation into the records of other states shows the same condition. In the most prosperous days of the road the tolls in Maryland

⁸⁰ *Laws of Ohio* LXXIV, p. 62.

(1837) amounted to \$9,953.00 and the expenditures \$9,660.51.⁸¹ In 1839 a "balance" was recorded of \$1,509.08, but a like amount was charged up on the debtor side of the account. The receipts reported each year in the Auditor's reports of the state of Ohio show that equal amounts were expended yearly upon the road. As early as 1832 the Governor of Ohio was authorized to borrow money to repair the road in that state.⁸²

⁸¹ "Report of the Superintendent of the National Road, with Abstract of Tolls for the fiscal year" (1837).

⁸² *Laws of Ohio* XXX, p. 8.



"S" BRIDGE IN PENNSYLVANIA.

CHAPTER VII.

STAGE COACHES AND FREIGHTERS.

The great work of building and keeping in repair the National Road, and of operating it, developed a race of men as unknown before its era as afterward. For the real life of the road, however, one will look to the days of its prime—to those who passed over its stately stretches and dusty coils as stage and mail coach drivers, express carriers and “wagoners,” and the tens of thousands of passengers and immigrants who composed the public which patronized the great highway. This was the real life of the road—coaches numbering as many as twenty traveling in a single line; wagon-house yards where a hundred tired horses rested over night beside their great loads; hotels where seventy transient guests have been served breakfast in a single morning; a life made cheery by the echoing horns of hurrying stages; blinded by the dust of droves of cattle numbering into the thousands; a life noisy with the satisfactory creak and crunch of the wheels of great wagons carrying six and eight thousand pounds of freight east or west.

The revolution of society since those days could not have been more surprising. The change has been so great it is a wonder that men deign to count their gain by the same numerical system. As Macauley has said, we do not travel to-day, we merely “arrive.” You are hardly a traveler now unless you cross a continent. Travel was once an education. This is growing less and less true, perhaps, with the passing years. Fancy a jour-

ney from St. Louis to New York in the old coaching days, over the National and the old York roads. How many persons the traveler met! How many interesting and instructive conversations were held with fellow travelers through the long hours; what customs, characters, foibles, amusing incidents would be noticed and remembered, ever afterward furnishing the information necessary to help one talk well and the sympathy necessary to render one capable of listening to others. The traveler often sat at the table with statesmen whom the nation honored, as well as with stage coach drivers whom a nation knew for their skill and prowess over six galloping horses. Henry Clays and "Red" Buntings dined together, and each made the other wiser, if not better. The greater the gulf grows between the rich and poor, the more ignorant do both become, particularly the rich. There was undoubtedly a monotony in stage coach journeying, but the continual views of the landscape, the ever-fresh air, the constantly passing throngs of countless description, made such traveling an experience unknown to us "arrivers" of to-day. How fast it has been forgotten that travel means seeing people rather than things. The age of sight seeing has superseded that of traveling. How few of us can say with the New Hampshire sage, "We have traveled a great deal 'in Concord.'" Splendidly are the old coaching days described by Thackeray who caught their spirit:

"The Island rang, as yet, with the tooting horns and rattling teams of mail coaches; a gay sight was the road in merry England in those days, before steam engines arose and flung its hostelry and chivalry over. To travel in coaches, to drive coaches, to know coachmen

and guards, to be familiar with inns along the road, to laugh with jolly hostess in the bar, to chuck the pretty chambermaid under the chin, was the delight of men who were young not very long ago. The road was an institution, the ring was an institution. Men rallied around then; and, not without a kind of conservatism, expatiated upon the benefits with which they endowed the country, and the evils which would occur when they should be no more:—decay of English spirit, decay of manly pluck, ruin of the breed of horses, and so forth. To give or take a black eye was not unusual or derogatory in a gentleman; to drive a stage coach the enjoyment, the emulation of generous youth. Is there any young fellow of the present time who aspires to take the place of a stoker? You see occasionally in Hyde Park one dismal old drag with a lonely driver. Where are you, charioteers? Where are you, O rattling Quicksilver, O swift Defiance? You are passed by racers stronger and swifter than you. Your lamps are out, and the music of your horns has died away.”⁸³

In the old coaching days the passenger and mail coaches were operated very much like the railways of to-day. A vast network of lines covered the land. Great companies owned hundreds of stages operating on innumerable routes, competing with other companies. These rival stage companies fought each other at times with great bitterness, and competed, as railways do

⁸³ “*The Newcomes*,” pp. 132–133.

to-day, in lowering tariff and in out-doing each other in points of speed and accommodation.⁸⁴ New inventions and appliances were eagerly sought in the hope of securing a larger share of public patronage. This competition extended into every phase of the business—fast horses, comfortable coaches, well known and companionable drivers, favorable connections.

However, competition, as is always the case, sifted the competitors down to a small number. Companies which operated upon the National Road between Indianapolis and Cumberland became distinct in character and catered to a steady patronage which had its distinctive characteristics and social tone. This was in part determined by the taverns which the various lines patronized. Each line ordinarily stopped at separate taverns in every town, as our railways formerly entered individual depots. There were also found Grand Union taverns on the Old National Road. Had this system of communication not been abandoned, coach lines would have gone through the same experience that the railways have, and for very similar reasons.

The largest coach line on the National Road was the National Road Stage Company, whose most prominent member was Lucius W. Stockton. The headquarters of this line was at the National House on Morgantown street, Uniontown, Pennsylvania. The principal rival of the National Road Stage Company was the "Good Intent" line, owned by Shriver, Steele and Company, with headquarters at the McClelland House, Uniontown. The Ohio

⁸⁴ In one instance a struggle between two stage coach lines in Indiana resulted in carrying passengers from Richmond to Cincinnati for fifty cents. The regular price was five dollars.

National Stage Company, with headquarters at Columbus, Ohio, operated on the western division of the road. There were many smaller lines, as the "Landlords," "Pilot," "Pioneer," "Defiance," "June Bug," etc.

Some of the first lines of stages were operated in sections, each section having different proprietors who could sell out at any time. The greater lines were constantly absorbing smaller lines and extending their ramifications in all directions. It will be seen there were trusts in the "good old days" of stage coaches, when smaller firms were "gobbled up" and "driven out" as happens to-day, and will ever happen in mundane history, despite the nonsense of political garblers. One of the largest stage companies on the old road was that of Neil, Moore and Company of Columbus, which operated hundreds of stages throughout Ohio. It was unable to compete with the Ohio National Stage Company to which it finally sold out, Mr. Neil becoming one of the magnates of the latter company, which was, in its day, a greater trust than anything known in Ohio to-day.⁸⁵

To know what the old coaches really were, one should see and ride in one. It is doubtful if a single one now remains intact. Here and there inquiry will raise the rumor of an old coach still standing on wheels, but if the rumor is traced to its source, it will be found that the chariot was sold to a circus or wild west

⁸⁵ An old Ohio National Stage driver, Mr. Samuel B. Baker of Kirkersville, Ohio, is authority for the statement that the Ohio National Stage Company put a line of stages on the Wooster-Wheeling mail and freight route and "ran out" the line which had been doing all the business previously, after an eight months' bitter contest.

show or has been utterly destroyed. The demand for the old stages has been quite lively on the part of the wild west shows.

These old coaches were handsome affairs in their day — painted and decorated profusely without, and lined within with soft silk plush.⁸⁶ There were ordinarily three seats inside, each capable of holding three passengers. Upon the driver's high outer seat was room for one more passenger, a fortunate position in good weather. The best coaches like their counterparts on the railways of to-day, were named; the names of states, warriors, statesmen, generals, nations and cities, besides fanciful names, such as "*Jewess*," "*Ivanhoe*," "*Sultana*," "*Loch Lomond*," were called into requisition.

The first coaches to run on the old National Road were long, awkward affairs, without braces or springs, and with seats placed crosswise. The door was in front, and passengers, on entering, had to climb over the seats. These first coaches were made at Little Crossings, Pennsylvania.

⁸⁶ The following appears in the *Ohio State Journal* of August 12, 1837: — A SPLENDID COACH — We have looked at a Coach now finishing off in the shop of Messrs. Evans & Pinney of this city, for the Ohio Stage Company, and intended we believe for the inspection of the Post-Master General, who sometime since offered premiums for models of the most approved construction, which is certainly one of the most perfect and splendid specimens of workmanship in this line that we have ever beheld; and would be a credit to any Coach Manufactory in the United States. It is aimed, in its construction, to secure the mail in the safest manner possible, under lock and key, and to accommodate three outside passengers under a comfortable and complete protection from the weather. It is worth going to see."

The body of succeeding coaches was placed upon thick, wide leathern straps which served as springs and which were called "thorough braces." At either end of the body was the driver's boot and the baggage boot. The first "Troy" coach put on the road came in 1829. It was a great novelty, but some hundreds of them were soon throwing the dust of Maryland and Pennsylvania into the air. Their cost then was between four and six hundred dollars. The harness used on the road was of giant proportions. The backbands were often fifteen inches wide, and the hip bands, ten. The traces were chains with short thick links and very heavy.

But the passenger traffic of the Old National Road played the same relation to the freight traffic as passenger traffic does to freight on the modern railway—a small item, financially considered. It was for the great wagons and their wagoners to haul over the mountains and distribute throughout the west the products of mill and factory and the rich harvests of the fields. And this great freight traffic created a race of men of its own, strong and daring, as they well had need to be. The fact that teamsters of these "mountain ships" had taverns or "wagon houses" of their own, where they stopped, tended to separate them into a class by themselves. These wagon houses were far more numerous than the taverns along the road, being found as often as one in every mile or two. Here, in the commodious yards, the weary horses and their swarthy Jehus slept in the open air. In winter weather the men slept on the floors of the wagon houses. In summer many wagoners carried their own cooking utensils. In the suburbs of the towns along the road they would

pull their teams out into the roadside and pitch camp, sending into the village to replenish their stores.

The bed of the old road freighter was long and deep, bending upward at the bottom at either end. The lower broad side was painted blue, with a movable board inserted above, painted red. The top covering was white canvas drawn over broad wooden bows. Many of the wagoners hung bells of a shape much similar to dinner bells, on a thin iron arch over the hames of the harness. Often the number of bells indicated the prowess of a teamster's horses, as the custom prevailed, in certain parts, that when a team became fast, or was unable to make the grade, the wagoner, rendering the necessary assistance, appropriated all the bells of the luckless team.

The wheels of the freighters were of a size proportionate to the rest of the wagon. The first wagons used on the old roads had narrow rims, but it was not long before the broad rims, or "broad tread wagons," came into general use by those who made a business of freighting. The narrow rims were always used by farmers, who, during the busiest season on the road, deserted their farms for the high wages temporarily to be made, and who in consequence were dubbed "sharp shooters" by the regulars. The width of the broad tread wheels was four inches. As will be noted, tolls for broad wheels was less than for the narrow ones which tended to cut the roadbed more deeply. One ingenious inventor planned to build a wheel with a rim wide enough to pass the toll gates free. The model was a wagon which had the rear axle four inches shorter than the front, making a track eight inches in width. Nine horses were hitched to this

wagon, three abreast. The team caused much comment, but was not voted practicable.

The loads carried on the mountain ships were very large. An Ohio man, McBride by name, in the winter of 1848 went over the mountains with seven horses, taking a load of nine hogsheads weighing an average of one thousand pounds each.

The following description is from the *St. Clairsville* (Ohio) *Gazette* of 1835:

“It was a familiar saying with Sam Patch that *some things can be done easier than others*, and this fact was forcibly brought to our mind by seeing a six-horse team pass our office on Wednesday last, laden with *eleven hogsheads of tobacco*, destined for Wheeling. Some speculation having gone forth as to its weight, the driver was induced to test it on the hayscales in this place, and it amounted to 13,280 lbs. gross weight — net weight 10,375. This team (owned by General C. Hoover of this county) took the load into Wheeling with ease, having a hill to ascend from the river to the level of the town, of eight degrees. The Buckeyes of Belmont may challenge competition in this line.”

Teamsters received good wages, especially when trade was brisk. From Brownsville to Cumberland they often received \$1.25 a hundred; \$2.25 per hundred has been paid for a load hauled from Wheeling to Cumberland.⁸⁷ The stage drivers

⁸⁷ Before the era of the National Road the price for hauling the goods of emigrants over Braddock's Road was very high. One emigrant

received twelve dollars a month with board and lodging. Usually

paid \$5.33 per hundred for hauling "women and goods" from Alexandria, Virginia, to the Monongahela. Six dollars per hundred weight was charged one emigrant from Hagarstown, Md., to Terre Haute, Indiana. An elaborate description of the freighters of our 'Middle Age' is given by Mr. Thomas Wilson of the United States National Museum in a delightful article entitled "The Arkansas Traveller", *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications* Vol. VIII, pp. 296-300. Among other things the following is of special interest, written of a road parallel to the National road in Ohio: "The wagons were immense lumbering machines with broad tires three to five inches in width and an inch in thickness. The boxes or bodies were like unto the later "Prairie Schooners;" the keel was not straight as is usual at the present day, but highly curved, being low in the center or middle of the wagon and high in the air at the front and back. The body was of framework mortised together, the slats, both horizontal and perpendicular, conformed in curve to their respective body-pieces and standards in that they increased, and made the top end of the body to be higher and longer than was the bottom of the foundation. (See cut.) They were provided with bows and covered with sail-cloth, an efficient protection against rain. The wagon had what was then called a "patent Lock," now so common as to have lost the terms "patent" and "lock" both, and become a "brake." The handle of the brake was managed by the driver from the ground. Occasionally it swung back and forth over the hind wheel and was pulled down by the weight of the driver and fastened with a chain to a spike or hook; occasionally it was at the rear of the wagon and was pushed from side to side and kept in place by a ratchet. The pole of these wagons was known as "stiff," that is it was fastened solid into the front hounds and did not fall to the ground, nor was it supported by the horses' necks. It was only used to steer and hold back, for which purpose long chains were fastened to its ends and attached by breast-chains to the hames.

The bodies of these wagons were set on bolsters and, of course, without springs. This, with their curve, brought them low in the center

the stage drivers had one particular route between two towns about twelve miles apart on which they drove year after year, and learned it as well as trainmen know their "runs" to-day. The life was hard, but the dash and spirit rendered it as fascinating as railway life is now.

Far better time was made by these old conveyances than and gave the front wheels but little play in turning. The great length and weight of the wagon, with its six horses, made it a machine as unwieldy to turn or steer as a steamboat. The six horses were hitched to the wagon thus: the wheel horses with double and single trees fastened to the tongue and hounds by means of hammer and hammer-strap, the former serving as a bolt or pin; the middle leaders were hitched to double and single trees which hung by the middle hook in the iron loop at the end of the pole. From the same loop the lead-chain was hooked which, stretched between the middle leaders, received the hook of the double trees of the leaders. The drivers used but a single line fastened to the bridle-rein of the near lead horse. The lefthand side was the "near" side, the other the "off" side. The middle span of horses were the "middle leaders," the rear ones the "wheel horses." The near wheel horse carried the saddle for the driver, on which he could mount as occasion demanded, but he rarely did. In driving, he walked by the side of the near wheel horse, carrying in his hand his Loudoun County black-snake whip, the single line attached to the lead horse being continually within reach. The rear end of the line was buckled to the hame of the wheel horse, high up, and was about long enough to clear the ground as it swung; when it was not in use its slack was hung over the hame. The line was used to guide the horses, more as a signal than by actual force. To pull it steadily without jerk means for the lead horse to come to "haw" (to the left); two or three short jerks meant for him to go "gee" (to the right). By these signals, with the aid of his voice, the driver had perfect command of his team."

many realize. Ten miles an hour was an ordinary rate of speed. A stage driver was dismissed more quickly for making slow time, than for being guilty of intoxication, though either offense was considered worthy of dismissal. The way bills handed to the drivers with the reins often bore the words "Make this time or we'll find some one who will." Competition in the matter of speed was as intense as it is now in the days of steam. A thousand legends of these rivalries still linger in story and tradition. Defeated competitors were held accountable by their companies and the loads or condition of their horses were seldom accepted as excuses. Couplets were often conjured up containing some brief story of defeat with a cutting sting for the vanquished driver:

"If you take a seat in Stockton's line
You are sure to be passed by Pete Burdine."

or

"Said Billy Willis to Peter Burdine
You had better wait for the oyster line."

In September, 1837, Van Buren's presidential message was carried from Baltimore (Canton Depot) to Philadelphia, a distance of one hundred and forty miles, in four hours and forty-three minutes. Seventy miles of the journey was done by rail, three by boat, and eighty-seven by horse. The seventy-three by rail and boat occupied one hundred and seventeen minutes and the eighty-seven by horse occupied the remaining two hundred and twenty-six minutes, or each mile in about two minutes and a half. This time was considered remarkable and shows how

little time was lost, even in the relay system. And that message was not light, as any one may see by perusing its contents.

The news of the death of William the Fourth of England, which occurred June 20, 1837, was printed in Columbus, Ohio, papers July 28. It was not until 1847 that the capital of Ohio was connected with the world by telegraph wires.

Time tables of passenger coaches were published as railway time tables are to-day. The following is a National Road time table printed at Columbus for the winter of 1835-1836:

COACH LINES.

WINTER ARRANGEMENT.

THE OLD STAGE LINES with all their different connections throughout the state, continue as heretofore.

THE MAIL PILOT LINE, leaves Columbus for Wheeling daily, at 6 A. M., reaching Zanesville at 1 P. M. and Wheeling at 6 A. M. next day, through in 24 hours, allowing five hours repose at St. Clairsville.

THE GOOD INTENT LINE, leaves Columbus for Wheeling, daily at 1 P. M., through in 20 hours, reaching Wheeling in time to connect with the stages for Baltimore and Philadelphia.

THE MAIL PILOT LINE, leaves Columbus daily, for Cincinnati at 8 A. M., through in 36 hours, allowing six hours repose at Springfield.

Extras furnished on the above routes at any hour when required.

THE EAGLE LINE, leaves Columbus every other day, for Cleveland, through in 40 hours, via Mt. Vernon and Wooster.

THE TELEGRAPH LINE leaves Columbus for Sandusky City, every other day at 5 A. M., through in two days, allowing rest at Marion, and connecting there with the line to Detroit, via Lower Sandusky.

THE PHOENIX LINE, leaves Columbus every other day, for Huron, via Mt. Vernon and Norwalk, through in 48 hours.

THE DAILY LINE OF MAIL COACHES, leaves Columbus, for Chilli-

cothe at 5 A. M., connecting there with the line to Maysville, Ky., and Portsmouth.

For seats apply at the General Stage Office, next door to Col. Noble's National Hotel.

T. C. ACHESON, *for the proprietor.*

The following advertisement of an opposition line, running in 1837, is interesting:

OPPOSITION!

DEFIANCE FAST LINE COACHES.

DAILY

FROM WHEELING, VA. to Cincinnati, O. via Zanesville, Columbus, Springfield and intermediate points.

Through in less time than any other line.

"By opposition the people are well served."

The Defiance Fast Line connects at Wheeling, Va. with Reside & Co.'s Two Superior daily lines to Baltimore, McNair and Co.'s Mail Coach line, via Bedford, Chambersburg and the Columbia and Harrisburg Rail Roads to Philadelphia, being the only direct line from Wheeling—: also with the only coach line from Wheeling to Pittsburg, via Washington, Pa., and with numerous cross lines in Ohio.

The proprietors having been released on the 1st inst. from burthen of carrying the great mail, (which will retard any line) are now enabled to run through in a shorter time than any other line on the road. They will use every exertion to accommodate the traveling public. With stock infinitely superior to any on the road, they flatter themselves they will be able to give general satisfaction; and believe the public are aware, from past experience, that a liberal patronage to the above line will prevent impositions in high rates of fare by any stage monopoly.

The proprietors of the Defiance Fast Line are making the necessary

arrangements to stock the Sandusky and Cleveland Routes also from Springfield to Dayton — which will be done during the month of July.

All baggage and parcels only received at the risk of the owners thereof.

JNO. W. WEAVER & Co.,

GEO. W. MANYPENNY,

JNO. YONTZ,

From Wheeling to Columbus, Ohio.

JAMES H. BACON,

WILLIAM RIANHARD,

F. M. WRIGHT,

WILLIAM H. FIFE,

From Columbus to Cincinnati.

There was always danger in riding at night, especially over the mountains, where sometimes a mis-step would cost a life. The following item from a letter written in 1837 tells of such an incident:

“One of the Reliance line of stages, from Frederick to the West, passed through here on its way to Cumberland. About ten o'clock the ill-fated coach reached a small spur of the mountain, running to the Potomac, and between this place and Hancock, termed Millstone Point, where the driver mistaking the track reined his horses too near the edge of the precipice, and in the twinkling of an eye, coach, horses, driver and passengers were precipitated upward of thirty-five feet onto a bed of rock below — the coach was dashed to pieces, and two of the horses killed — literally smashed.

“A respectable elderly lady of the name of Clarke, of Louisville, Kentucky, and a negro child were crushed to death — and a man so dreadfully mangled that his life is flickering on his lips

only. His face was beaten to a mummy. The other passengers and the driver were woefully bruised, but it is supposed they are out of danger. There were seven in number.

"I cannot gather that any blame was attached to the driver. It is said that he was perfectly sober; but he and his horses were new to this road, and the night was foggy and very dark."

An act of the legislature of Ohio required that every stage coach used for the conveyance of passengers in the night should have two good lamps affixed in the usual manner, and subjected the owner to a fine of from \$10.00 to \$30.00 for every forty-eight hours the coach was not so provided. Drivers of coaches who should drive in the night when the track could not be distinctly seen without having the lamps lighted were subject to a forfeiture of from \$5.00 to \$10.00 for each offense. The same act provided that drivers guilty of intoxication, so as to endanger the safety of passengers, on written notice of a passenger on oath, to the owner or agent, should be forthwith discharged, and subjected the owner continuing to employ that driver more than three days after such notice to a forfeiture of \$50.00 a day.

Stage proprietors were required to keep a printed copy of the act posted up in their offices, under a penalty of \$5.00.

Another act of the Ohio Legislature subjected drivers who should leave their horses without being fastened to a fine of not over \$20.00.

As has been intimated, passengers purchased their tickets of the stage company in whose stage they embarked, and the tolls were included in the price of the ticket. A paper resembling

a way bill was made out by the agent of the line at the starting point. This paper was given to the driver and delivered by him to the landlord at each station upon the arrival of the coach. This paper contained the names and destinations of the passengers carried, the sums paid as fare and the time of departure, and contained blank squares for registering time of arrival and departure from each station. The fares on the National Road varied slightly but averaged about four cents a mile.



CHAPTER VIII.

MAILS AND MAIL LINES.

The most important official function of the National Road was to furnish means of transporting the United States mails. The strongest constitutional argument of its advocates was the need of facilities for transporting troops and mails. The clause in the constitution authorizing the establishment of post roads was interpreted by them to include any measure providing quick and safe transmission of the mails. As has been seen, it was finally considered by many to include building and operating railways with funds appropriated for the National Road.

The great mails of seventy-five years ago were operated on very much the same principle on which mails are operated to-day. The postoffice department at Washington contracted with the great stage lines for the transmission of the mails by yearly contracts, a given number of stages with a given number of horses to be run at given intervals, to stop at certain points, at a fixed yearly compensation, usually determined by the custom of advertising for bids and accepting the lowest offered.

When the system of mail coach lines reached its highest perfection the mails were handled as they are to-day. The great mails that passed over the National Road were the Great Eastern and Great Western mails out of Washington and St. Louis. A thousand lesser mail lines connected with the National Road at every step, principally those from Cincinnati in Ohio, and from Pittsburg in Pennsylvania. There were through and way

mails, also mails which carried letters only, newspapers going by separate stage. There was also an "Express Mail" corresponding to the present "fast mail."

It is probably not realized what rapid time was made by the old-time stage and express mails over the National Road to the central west. Even compared with the fast trains of to-day, the express mails of sixty years ago, when conditions were favorable, made marvelous time. In 1837 the Post Office department required, in their contract for carrying the Great Western Express Mail from Washington over the National Road to Columbus and St. Louis, that the following time be made:

Wheeling, Virginia	30	hours.
Columbus, Ohio	45½	"
Indianapolis, Indiana	65½	"
Vandalia, Illinois	85½	"
St. Louis, Missouri.....	94	"

At the same time the ordinary mail coaches, which also served as passenger coaches, made very much slower time:

Wheeling, Virginia	2	days	11	hours.
Columbus, Ohio	3	"	16	"
Indianapolis, Indiana	6	"	20	"
Vandalia, Illinois	9	"	10	"
St. Louis, Missouri.....	10	"	4	"

Cities off the road were reached in the following time from Washington:

Cincinnati, Ohio	60	hours.
Frankfort, Kentucky	72	"
Louisville, Kentucky	78	"
Nashville, Tennessee	100	"
Huntsville, Alabama	115½	"

The ordinary mail to these points made the following time :

Cincinnati, Ohio	4	days	18	hours.
Frankfort, Kentucky	6	"	18	"
Louisville, Kentucky	6	"	23	"
Nashville, Tennessee	8	"	16	"
Huntsville, Alabama	10	"	21	"

The postoffice department had given its mail contracts to the steamship lines in the east, when possible from Boston to Portland and New York to Albany. One mail route to the southern states, however, passed over the National Road and down to Cincinnati, where it went on to Louisville and the Mississippi ports by packet. The following time was made by this Great Southern Mail from Louisville:

Nashville, Tennessee	21	hours.
Mobile, Alabama	80	"
New Orleans, Louisiana.....	105	"

The service rendered to the south and southwest by the National Road, was not rendered to the northwest, as might have been expected. Chicago and Detroit were difficult to bring into easy communication with the east. Until the railway was completed from Albany to Buffalo, the mails went very slowly to the northwest from New York. The stage line from Buffalo to Cleveland and on west over the terrible Black Swamp road to Detroit was one of the worst in the United States. When lake navigation became closed, communication with northwestern Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin and northern Indiana and Illinois was almost cut off. Had the stage route followed that of the buffalo and Indian on the high ground occupied by the Mahoning

Indian trail from Pittsburg to Detroit, a far more excellent service might have been at the disposal of the postoffice department! As it was, stage horses floundered in the Black Swamp with "mud up to the horses' bridles," where a half dozen mails were often congested, and "six horses were barely sufficient to draw a two-wheeled vehicle fifteen miles in three days." In fact the road was at times impassable: "The road through the Black Swamp has been much of the season impassable. A couple of horses were lost in a mud hole last week. The bottom had fallen out. The driver was unaware of the fact. His horses plunged in and ere they could be extricated were drowned."⁸⁸

The old time-tables of the National Road made an interesting study. One of the first of these published after the great stage lines were in operation over the entire road and the southern branch to Cincinnati, appeared early in the year 1833. By this schedule the Great Eastern Mail left Washington daily at 7 P. M. and Baltimore at 9 P. M. and arrived in Wheeling, on the Ohio river, in fifty-five hours. Leaving Wheeling at 4.30 A. M., it arrived in Columbus at five the morning following, and in Cincinnati at the same hour the next morning, making forty-eight hours from one point on the river to the other, much better time than any packet could make. The Great Western Mail left Cincinnati daily at 2 P. M. and reached Columbus at 1 P. M. on the day following. It left Columbus at 1.30 P. M. and reached

⁸⁸ *Ohio State Journal*, February 9, 1838. "The land mail between this and Detroit crawls with snails pace"—*Cleveland Gazette*, August 31, 1837.

Wheeling at 2.30 the day following, thence on to Washington in fifty-five hours.⁸⁹

At times the mails on the National Road were greatly delayed, taxing the patience of the public beyond endurance. The road itself was so well built that rain had little effect upon it as a rule. In fact, delay of the mails was more often due to inefficiency of the postoffice department, inefficiency of the stage line service, or failure of contractors, than poor roads. Until a bridge was built across the Ohio river at Wheeling, in 1836, mails often became congested, especially when ice was running out. There were frequent derangements of cross and way mails which affected seriously the efficiency of the service. The vast number of connecting mails on the National Road made regularity in transmission of cross mails confusing, especially if the through mails were at all irregular.

To us living in the present age of telegraphic communication

⁸⁹ The northern and southern Ohio mails connected with the Great Eastern and Great Western mails at Columbus. They were operated as follows:

NORTHERN MAIL: Left Sandusky City 4 A. M., reached Delaware 8 P. M. Left Delaware next day 3 A. M., reached Columbus 8 A. M. Left Columbus 8:30 A. M., reached Chillicothe 4 P. M. Left Chillicothe next day 4 A. M., reached Portsmouth 3 P. M.

SOUTHERN MAIL: Left Portsmouth 9 A. M., Chillicothe 5 P. M., Columbus 1 P. M., day following. Delaware 7 P. M., Sandusky City 7 P. M. day following. A Cleveland mail left Cleveland daily for Columbus via Wooster and Mt. Vernon at 3 A. M., and reached Columbus on the day following at 5 P. M., returning the mail left Columbus at 4 A. M. and reached Cleveland at 5 P. M. on the ensuing day.



and the ubiquitous daily paper, it may not occur that the mail stages of the old days were the newsboys of the age, and that thousands looked to their coming for the first word of news from distant portions of the land. In times of war or political excitement the express mail stage and its precious load of papers from Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York, was hailed as the latest editions of our newspapers are to-day. Thus it must have been that a greater proportion of the population along the Old National Road awaited with eager interest the coming of the stage in the old days, than to-day await the arrival of the long mail trains from the east.

Late in the 30's and in the 40's, when the mail stage system reached its highest perfection, the mail and passenger service had been entirely separated, special stages being constructed for hauling the former. As early as 1837 the postoffice department decreed that the mails, which heretofore had always been held as of secondary consideration compared with passengers, should be carried in specially arranged vehicles, into which the postmaster should put them under lock and key not to be opened until the next postoffice was reached. These stages were of two kinds, designed to be operated upon routes where the mails ordinarily comprised, respectively, a half and nearly a whole load. In the former, room was left for six passengers, in the latter, for three. Including newspapers with the regular mail, the later stages which ran westward over the National Road rarely carried passengers. Indeed there was little room for the guards who traveled with the driver to protect the government property. Many old drivers of the "Boston Night Mail," or the "New York

Night Mail," or "Baltimore Mail," may yet be found along the old road, who describe the immense loads which they carried westward behind flying steeds. Such a factor in the mail stage business did the newspapers become, that many contractors refused to carry them by express mail, consigning them to the ordinary mails, thereby bringing down upon themselves the frequent savage maledictions of a host of local editors.⁹⁰

Newspapers were, nevertheless, carried by express mail stages as far west as Ohio in 1837, as is proven by a newspaper account of a robbery committed on the National Road, the robbers holding up an express-mail stage and finding nothing in it but newspapers.⁹¹

The mails on the National Road were always in danger of being assailed by robbers, especially on the mountainous portions of the road at night. Though by dint of lash and ready revolver, the doughty drivers usually came off safely with their charge.

⁹⁰ "The extreme irregularity which has attended the transmission of newspapers from one place to another, for several months past has been a subject of general complaint with the editors of all parties. It was to have been expected that, after the adjournment of Congress, the evil would have ceased to exist. Such, however, is not the case. Although the roads are now pretty good, and the mails arrive in due season, our eastern exchange papers seem to reach us only by chance. On Tuesday last, for instance, we received, among others, the following, viz., *The New York Courier and Enquirer* of March 1, 5 and 19; the *Philadelphia Times* and *Saturday Evening Post* of March 2; the *United States Gazette* of March 6; and the *New Jersey Journal* of March 5 and 19. The cause of this irregularity, we have reason to believe, does not originate in this state." *Ohio State Journal*, March 30, 1833.

⁹¹ *Ohio State Journal*, August 9, 1837.

CHAPTER IX.

TAVERNS AND TAVERN LIFE.

So distinctive was the character of the National Road that all which pertained to it was highly characteristic. Next to the race of men which grew up beside its swinging stretches, nothing had a more distinctive tone than the taverns which offered cheer and hospitality to its surging population.

The origin of taverns in the east and west was very dissimilar. The first taverns in the west were those which did service on the old Braddock's Road. Unlike the taverns of New England, which were primarily drinking places, sometimes closing at nine in the evening and not professing, originally, to afford lodging, the tavern in the west arose amid the forest to answer the needs of travelers. It may be said that every cabin in all the western wilderness was a tavern, where, if there was a lack of "bear and cyder" there was an abundance of dried deer meat and Indian meal and a warm fire-place before which to spread one's blankets.⁹²

The first cabins on the old route from the Potomac to the Ohio were at the Wills Creek settlement (Cumberland) and Gists clearing where Washington stopped on his La Boeuf trip on the buffalo trace not far from the summit of Laurel Hill.

⁹² It may be found upon investigation, that the portions of our country most noted for hospitality are those where taverns gained the least hold as a social institution. Cf. Allen's *The Blue Grass Region of Kentucky*, p. 38.

After Braddock's Road was built, and the first roads were opened between Uniontown and Brownsville, Washington and Wheeling, during the Revolutionary period, a score of taverns sprang up — the first of the kind west of the Alleghany mountains.

The oldest tavern on Braddock's Road was Tomlinson's Tavern near "Little Meadows," eight miles west of the present village of Frostburg, Maryland.

At this point the lines of Braddock's Road and the National Road coincide. On land owned by him along the old military road Jesse Tomlinson erected a tavern. When the National Road was built, his first tavern was deserted and a new one built near the old site. Another tavern, erected by one Fenniken, stood on both the line of the military road and the National Road, two miles west of Smithfield ("Big Crossings") where the two courses were identical.

The first taverns erected upon the road which followed the portage path from Uniontown to Brownsville were Collin's Log Tavern and Rollin's Tavern, erected in Uniontown in 1781 and 1783, respectively. These taverns offered primitive forms of hospitality to the growing stream of sojourners over the rough mountain path to the Youghiogeny at Brownsville, where boats could be taken for the growing metropolis of Pittsburg. Another tavern in the west was carried on this road ten miles west of Uniontown. As the old century neared its close a score of taverns sprang up on the road from Uniontown to Brownsville and on the road opened from Brownsville to Wheeling. At least three old taverns are remembered at West Brownsville. Hill's stone tavern was erected at Hillsboro in 1794. "Catfish

Camp," the name of James Wilson's tavern at Washington, the first tavern in that historic town, was built in 1781 and operated eleven years for the benefit of the growing tide of pioneers who chose to embark on the Ohio at Wheeling rather than on the Monongahela at Brownsville. Other taverns at Washington before 1800 were McCormack's (1788), Sign of the White Goose (1791), Buck Tavern (1796, Sign of the Spread Eagle, and Globe Inn (1797). The Gregg Tavern and the famous old Workman House at Uniontown were both erected in the last years of the old century, 1797-1799. Two miles west of Rankintown, Smith's Stone tavern stood on the road to Wheeling and the Sign of the American Eagle (1796), offered lodging at West Alexander, several years before the old century closed. West of the Ohio river, on Zane's rough blazed track through the scattered Ohio settlements toward Kentucky, travelers found, as has been elsewhere noted, entertainment at Zane's clearings at the fords of the Muskingum and Scioto, and at the little settlement at Cincinnati. Before the quarter of a century elapsed, ere the National Road crossed the Ohio river, a number of taverns were erected on the line of the road which was built over the course of Zane's trace. On this first wagon road west of the Ohio river the earliest taverns were at St. Clairsville and Zanesville. At this latter point the road turned southwest, following Zane's trace to Lancaster, Chillicothe and Maysville, Kentucky. The first tavern on this road was opened at Zanesville during the last year of the old century, McIntire's Hotel. In the winter of the same year, 1799, Green's Tavern was built, in which, it is recorded, the Fourth of July celebration in the

following year was held. Cordery's Tavern followed, and David Harvey built a tavern in 1800. The first license for a tavern in St. Clairsville was issued to Jacob Haltz, February 23, 1802. Two other licenses were issued that year to John Thompson and Bazil Israel. Barnes' Tavern was opened in 1803. William Gibson, Michael Groves, Sterling Johnson, Andrew Moore and Andrew Marshall, kept tavern in the first half decade of this century. As elsewhere noted, there was no earlier road between Zanesville and Columbus which the National Road followed. West of Zanesville but one tavern was opened in the first decade of this century. Griffith Foos' tavern at Springfield, which was doing business in 1801, prospered until 1814. The other taverns of the west, at Zanesville, Columbus, Springfield, Richmond, Indiana and Indianapolis, are of another era and will be mentioned later.

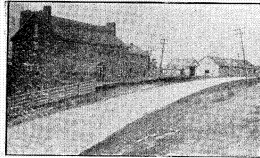
The first taverns of the west were built mostly of log, though a few, as noted, were of stone. They were ordinary wilderness cabins, rendered professionally hospitable by stress of circumstance. They were more often of but one or two rooms, where, before the fireplace, guests were glad to sleep together upon the puncheon floor. The fare afforded was such as hunters had—game from the surrounding forest and neighboring streams and the product of the little clearing, potatoes and the common cereals.

At the beginning of the new century a large number of substantial taverns arose beside the first western roads—even before the National Road was under way. The best known of these were built at Washington, The Sign of the Cross Keys, (1801);

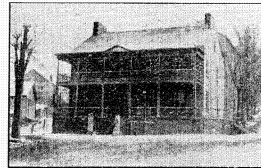
The McClellan, (1802); National and Walker Houses at Uniontown. At Washington arose The Sign of the Golden Swan, (1806); Sign of the Green Tree, (1808); Gen. Andrew Jackson, (1813); and Sign of the Indian Queen, (1815). These were built in the age of saw-mills and some of them came well down through the century.

It is remarkable how many buildings are to be seen on the National Road which tell by their architectural form the story of their fortunes. Many a tavern, outgrowing the day of small things, was found to be wholly inadequate to the greater business of the new era. Additions were made as circumstances demanded, and in some cases the result is very interesting. The Seaton House in Uniontown was built in sections, as was the old Fulton House, (now Moran House) also of Uniontown. A fine old stone tavern at Malden, Pennsylvania, was erected in 1822 and an addition made in 1830. A stone slab in the second section bears the date "1830", also the word "Liberty", and a rude drawing of a plow and sheaf of wheat. Though of more recent date, the well known "Four Mile House" west of Columbus, Ohio, displays, by a series of additions, the record of its prosperous days, when the neighboring "Camp Chase" held its population of Confederate prisoners.

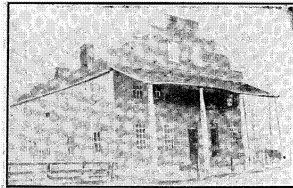
Among the more important taverns which became the notable hostelrys of the National Road should be mentioned the Black, American, Mountain Spring and Pennsylvania houses at Cumberland; Plumer tavern and Six Mile House west of Cumberland; Franklin and Highland Hall houses of Frostburg; Lehman and Shultz houses at Grantsville; Thistle tavern at the eastern foot of



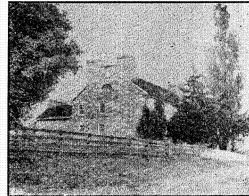
TAVERN ON MT. WASHINGTON.



WORKMAN HOUSE AT UNIONTOWN.



"TEMPLE OF JUNO," NEAR PETERSBURG.



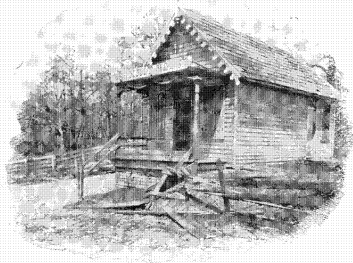
TAVERN AT MALDEN.

Negro mountain, and Hablitzell's stone tavern at the Summit; The Stoddard House on the summit of Keyser's Ridge; the stone tavern near the summit of Winding Ridge, and the Wable stand on the western slope; the Wentling and Hunter houses at Petersburg; the "Temple of Juno" two miles westward; the Endsley House and Camel tavern at Smithfield ("Big Crossing"); a tavern on Mt. Augusta; the Rush, Inks and John Rush houses, Sampey's tavern at "Great Meadows"; the Braddock Run House; Downer tavern; Snyder's tavern at eastern foot of Laurel Hill, and the Summit House at the top; Shipley and Monroe houses and Norris tavern east of Uniontown, and Searight's tavern six miles west; Johnson-Hatfield house; the Brashear, Marshall, Clark and Monongahela houses at Brownsville; Adam's tavern; Key's and Greenfield's tavern at Beallsville; "Gall's House"; Hastings and the Upland House at the foot of Egg Nogg Hill; Ringland's tavern at Pancake; the Fulton House, Philadelphia and Kentucky Inn and Travellers Inn at Washington; Rankin and Smith taverns; Caldwell's tavern; Brown's and Watkin's taverns at Claysville; Beck's tavern at West Alexander; the Stone tavern at Roney's Point and the United States Hotel and Monroe House at Wheeling.

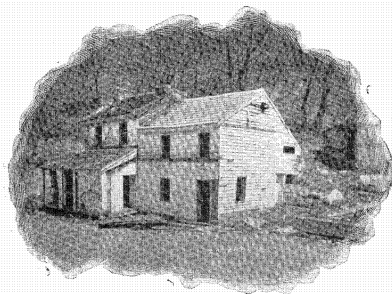
West of the Ohio was Rhode's and McMahon's taverns at Bridgeport; Hoover's tavern near St. Clairsville; Chamberlain's tavern; Christopher Hoover's tavern, one mile west of Morristown; Taylor's tavern; Gleave's tavern and Stage office; Bradshaw's Hotel at Fairview; Drake's tavern at Middleton; Sign of the Black Bear at Washington; Carran's, McDonald's, McKinney's and Wilson's taverns in Guernsey county and the "Ten

Mile House" at Norwich, ten miles east of Zanesville. In Zanesville, Robert Taylor opened a tavern in 1805, and in 1807 moved to the present site of the Clarendon Hotel, situated on the National Road and hung out the Sign of the Orange Tree. Perhaps no tavern in the land can claim the honor of holding a state legislature within its doors, except the Sign of the Orange Tree, where, in 1810-12, when Zanesville was the temporary capital of Ohio, the legislature made its headquarters.⁹³ The Sign of the Rising Sun was another Zanesville tavern, opened in 1806, the name being changed by a later proprietor, without damage to its brilliancy, perhaps, to the Sign of the Red Lion. The National Hotel was opened in 1818 and became a famous hostelry. Roger's hotel is mentioned in many old advertisements for bids for making and repairing the National Road. In 1811 William Burnham opened the Sign of the Merino Lamb in a frame building owned by General Isaac Van Horne. The Sign of the Green Tree was opened by John S. Dugan in 1817, this being remembered for entertaining President Monroe, and General Lewis Cass at a later date. West of Zanesville, on the new route opened straight westward to Columbus, the famous monumental pile of stone, the "Five Mile House" long served its useful purpose beside the road and is one of the most impressive of its monuments, to-day. Edward Smith and Usal Headley were early tavern keepers at this point. Henry Winegamer built a tavern three miles west of the Five Mile House. Henry Hursey built and opened the first tavern at Gra-

⁹³ The Virginian House of Burgesses met in the old Raleigh Tavern at Williamsburg, in 1773. — Woodrow Wilson's *George Washington*, p 146.



SUMMIT HOUSE (LAUREL HILL, PENNSYLVANIA).



OLD BRADDOCK SPRINGS HOUSE.

tiot. These public houses west of Zanesville were erected in the year preceding the opening of the National Road, which was built through the forest in the year 1831.⁹⁴ The stages which were soon running from Zanesville to Columbus, left the uncompleted line of the National Road at Jacksontown and struck across to Newark and followed the old road thence to Columbus. The first tavern built in Columbus was opened in 1813, which, in 1816, bore the sign "The Lion and the Eagle." After 1817 it was known as "The Globe." The Columbus Inn and White Horse Tavern were early Columbus hotels; Pike's tavern was opened in 1822, and a tavern bearing the sign of the Golden Lamb was opened in 1825. The Neil House was opened in the 20's, a transfer of it to new owners appearing in local papers in 1832. It was the headquarters of the Neil, Moore and Company line of stages, and the best known early tavern in the old coaching days in Ohio. Many forgotten taverns in Columbus can be found mentioned in old documents and papers including the famous American House, Buckeye Hotel, on the present site of the Board of Trade building, etc. West of Columbus the celebrated "Four Mile House", which has been referred to previously, was erected in the latter half of the century. In the days of the great mail and stage lines "Billy Werden's" tavern in Springfield was the leading hostelry in western Ohio. At this point the stages running to Cincinnati, with mail for the Mississippi Valley, left the National Road. Across the state line, Neal's and Clawson's taverns offered hospitality in the extreme eastern border of Indiana.

⁹⁴ For advertisement of sale of a National Road tavern see Appendix No. 4.

At Richmond, Starr Tavern (Tremont Hotel), Nixon's Tavern, Gilbert's two-story, pebble-coated tavern and Bayle's Sign of the Green Tree, offered entertainment worthy of the road and its great business, while Sloan's brick stage house accommodated the passenger traffic of the stage lines. At Indianapolis, the Palmer House, built in 1837, and "Washington Hall," welcomed the public of the two great political faiths, Democrat and Whig, respectively.

Almost every mile of the road's long length wagon houses offered hospitality to the hundreds engaged in the great freight traffic, in which a large room with its fireplace could be found before which to lay blankets on a winter's night. The most successful wagon houses were situated at the outskirts of the larger towns, where, at more reasonable prices, and in more congenial surroundings than in a crowded city inn, the rough sturdy men, upon whom the whole west depended for over a generation for its merchandize, found hospitable entertainment for themselves and their rugged horses. These houses were usually unpretentious frame buildings surrounded by a commodious yard, and generous watering troughs and barns. A hundred tired horses have been heard munching their corn in a single wagon-house yard at the end of a long day's work.

In both tavern and wagon house the fire place and the bar were omnipresent, whatever else might be missing. The fireplaces in the first western taverns were notably generous, as the rigorous winters of the Alleghanies required. Many of these fire places were seven feet in length and nearly as high, capable of holding, had it been necessary, a wagon load of wood. With

a great fire place at the end of the room, lighting up its darkest corners as no candle could, the taverns along the National Road where the stages stopped for the night, saw merrier scenes than any of their modern counterparts witness. And over all their merry gatherings the flames from the great fires threw a softened light, in which those who remember them best seem to bask as they tell us of them. The taverns near some of the larger villages, Wheeling, Washington or Uniontown, often entertained for a winter's evening, a sleighing party from town, to whom the great room and its fireplace was surrendered for the nonce, where soon lipping footsteps and the soft swirl of old fashioned skirts told that the dance was on.

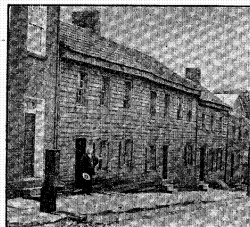
Beside the old fire place hung two important articles, the flip-iron and the poker. The poker used in the old road taverns was of a size commensurate with the fire place, often being seven or eight feet long. Each landlord was Keeper-of-the-Poker in his own tavern, and many were particular that none but themselves should touch the great fire, which was one of the main features of their hospitality, after the quality of the food and drink. Eccentric old "Boss" Rush in his famous tavern near Smithfield (Great Crossings) even kept his poker under lock and key.

The tavern signs so common in New England were known only in the earlier days of the National Road as many of the tavern names show. The majority of the great taverns bore on their signs only the name of their proprietor, the earliest landlord's name often being used for several generations. The advancing of the century can be noticed in the origin of such names as the "National House," the "United States Hotel," the

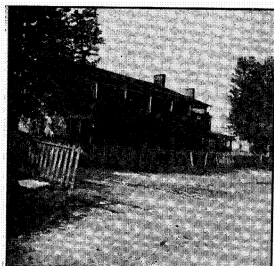
"American House," etc. The evolution in nomenclature is, plainly, from the sign or symbol to the landlord's name, then to a fanciful name. Another sign of later days was the building of verandas. The oldest taverns now standing are plain ones or the two story buildings rising abruptly from the pavement and opening directly upon it. Of this type is the Brownfield House at Uniontown and numerous half-forgotten houses which were early taverns in Pennsylvania and Ohio.

The kitchen of the old inn was an important feature, especially as many of the taverns were little more than restaurants where stage passengers hastily dined. The food provided was of a plain and nourishing character, including the famous home-cured hams, which Andrew Jackson preferred, and the buck-wheat cakes, which Henry Clay highly extolled. In this connection it should be said that the women of the old west were most successful in operating the old time taverns, and many of the best "stands" were conducted by them. The provision made in a license to a woman in early New England, that "she provide a fit man that is godly to manage the business," was never suggested in the west, where hundreds of brave women carried on the business of their husbands after their decease. And their heroism was appreciated and remembered by the gallant aristocracy of the road.

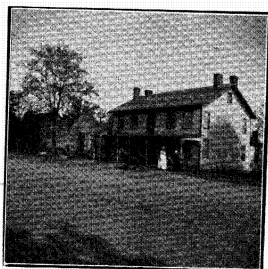
The old Revolutionary soldiers who, quite generally, became the landlords of New England, did not keep tavern in the west. But one Revolutionary veteran was landlord on the National Road. The road bred and brought up its own landlords to a large extent. The early landlords were fit men to rule in the early tav-



BROWNFIELD HOUSE, UNIONTOWN,
PENNSYLVANIA.



"FOUR MILE HOUSE" AT CAMP CHASE,
NEAR COLUMBUS.



HOTEL AT KIRKERSVILLE, OHIO.

erns, and provided from forest and stream the larger portion of food for the sojourners over the first rough roads. It is said that these objected to the building of the National Road, through fear that more accelerated means of locomotion would eventually cheat them out of the business which then fell to their share.

But, like the New England landlord, the western tavern-keeper was a many-sided man. Had the National Road taverns been located always within villages, their proprietors might have become what New England landlords are reputed to have been, town representatives, councilmen, selectmen, tapsters and heads of the "Train Band"—in fact, next to the town clerk in importance. As it was, the western landlord often filled as important a position on the frontier as his eastern counterpart did in New England. This was due, in part, to the place which the western tavern occupied in society. Taverns were, both in the east and in the west, places of meeting for almost any business. This was particularly true in the west, where the public house was almost the only available place for any gathering whatever between the scattered villages. But while in the east the landlord was most frequently busy with official duties, the western landlord was mostly engaged in collateral professions, which rendered him of no less value to his community. The jovial host at the National Road tavern often worked a large farm, upon which his tavern stood. Some of the more prosperous on the eastern half of the road, owned slaves which carried on the work of the farm and hotel. He sometimes ran a store in connection with his tavern, and almost without exception, officiated at his bar, where he "sold strong waters to relieve the inhabitants." Whiskey, two

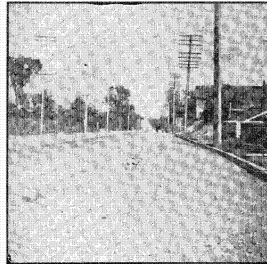
drinks for a "flippeny bit," called "fip" for short (value $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents) was the principal "strong water" in demand. It was the pure article, neither diluted nor adulterated. In the larger towns of course any beverage of the day was kept at the taverns — sherry toddy, mulled wine, madeira and cider.

As has been said, the road bred its own landlords. Youths, whose lives began simultaneously with that of the great road, worked upon its curved bed in their teens, became teamsters and contractors in middle life, and spent the autumn of their lives as landlords of its taverns, purchased with the money earned in working upon it. Several well-known landlords were prominent contractors, many of whom owned their share of the great six and eight-horse teams which hauled freight to the western rivers.

The old taverns were the hearts of the National Road, and the tavern life was the best gauge to measure the current of business that ebbed and flowed. As the great road became superceded by the railways, the taverns were the first to succumb to the shock. In a very interesting article, a recent writer on "The Rise of the Tide of Life to New England Hilltops,"⁹⁵ speaks of the early hill life of New England, and the memorials there left "of the deep and sweeping streams of human history." The author would have found the National Road and its predecessors an interesting western example of the social phenomena with which he dealt. In New England, as in the central west, the first travelled courses were on the summits of the watersheds. These routes of the brute were the first ways of men. The tide of life has *ebbed* from New England hilltops since the

⁹⁵ Mr. Edward P. Pressey in *New England Magazine*, Vol. XXII, No. 6 (August 1900).

beginning. Sufficient is it for the present subject that the National Road was the most important "stream of human history" from Atlantic tide-water to the headwaters of the streams of the Mississippi. Its old taverns are, after the remnants of the historic road-bed and ponderous bridges, the most interesting "shells and fossils" cast up by this stream. This old route, chosen first by the buffalo and followed by red and white men, will ever be the course of travel across the mountains. From this rugged path made by the once famous National Road, the tide of life can not ebb. Here, a thousand years hence, may course a magnificent boulevard, the American Appian way, to the commercial, as well as military, key of the eastern slopes of the Mississippi basin at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers. It is important that each fact of history concerning this ancient highway be put on lasting record.



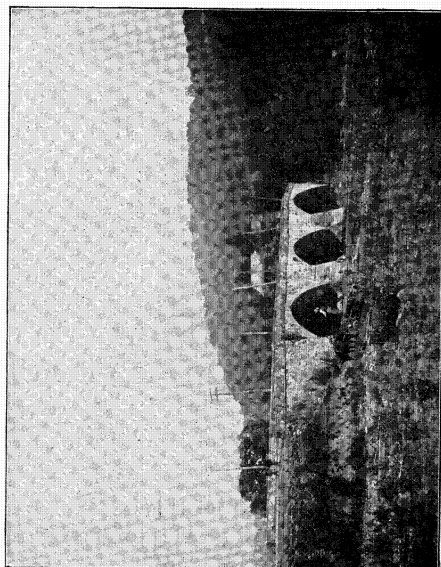
NATIONAL ROAD ENTERING COLUMBUS FROM THE WEST.
(WEST BROAD STREET.)

CHAPTER X.

CONCLUSION.

It is impossible to leave the study of the National Road without gathering up into a single chapter a number of threads which have not been woven into the preceding record. And first, the very appearance of the old road as seen by travellers who pass over it to-day. One can not go a single mile over it without becoming deeply impressed with the evidence of the age and the individuality of the old National Road. There is nothing like it in the United States. Leaping the Ohio at Wheeling, the National Road throws itself across Ohio and Indiana, straight as an arrow, like an ancient elevated pathway of the gods, chopping hills in twain at a blow, traversing the lowlands on high grades like a railroad bed, vaulting river and stream on massive bridges of unparalled size. The farther one travels upon it, the more impressed one must become, for there is, in the long grades and stretches and ponderous bridges, that "masterful suggestion of a serious purpose, speeding you along with a strange uplifting of the heart," of which Kenneth Grahame speaks; "and even in its shedding off of bank and hedgerow as it marched straight and full for the open downs, it seems to declare its contempt for adventitious trappings to catch the shallow-pated."⁹⁶ For long distances, this road "of the sterner sort" will be, so far as its immediate surface is concerned, what the tender mercies of the counties through which it passes will allow, but at certain

⁹⁶ "*The Golden Age*," p. 155.



BRIDGE AT "BIG CROSSINGS."

points, the traveler comes out unexpectedly upon the ancient road bed, for in many places the old macadamized bed is still doing noble duty.

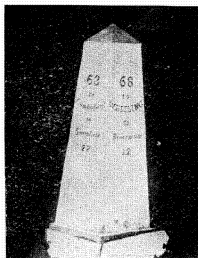
Nothing is more striking than the ponderous stone bridges which carry the road bed over the water ways. It is doubtful if there are on this continent such monumental relics of the old stone bridge builders' art. Not only such massive bridges as those at Big Crossings — Smithfield, Pennsylvania — and the artistic "S" bridge near Claysville, Pennsylvania, will attract the traveler's attention, but many of the less pretentious bridges over brooks and rivulets will, upon examination, be found to be ponderous pieces of workmanship. A pregnant suggestion of the change which has come over the land can be read in certain of these smaller bridges and culverts. When the great road was built the land was covered with forests and many drains were necessary. With the passing of the forests many large bridges, formerly of much importance, are now of a size out of all proportion to the demand for them, and hundreds of little bridges have fallen into disuse, some of them being quite above the general level of the surrounding fields. The ponderous bridge at Big Crossings was finished and dedicated with great éclat July 4, 1818. Near the eastern end of the three fine arches is the following inscription: "Kinkead, Beck & Evans, builders, July 4, 1818."

The traveler will notice, still, the mile posts which mark the great road's successive steps. Those on the eastern portion of the road are of iron and were made at the founderies at Connelsville and Brownsville. Major James Francis had the contract

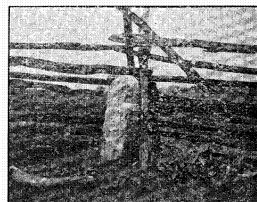
for making and delivering those between Cumberland and Brownsville. John Snowdan had the contract for those between Brownsville and Wheeling. They were hauled in six horse teams to their sites. Those between Brownsville and Cumberland have recently been reset and repainted. The mile stones west of the Ohio river are mostly of sand stone, and are fast disappearing under the action of the weather. Some are quite illegible. In central Ohio, through the Darby woods, or "Darby Cuttings," the mile posts have been greatly mutilated by vandal wood-choppers, who knocked off large chips with which to sharpen their axes.

The bed of the National Road was originally eighty feet in width. In Ohio, at least, property owners have encroached upon the road, until in some places, ten feet of ground has been included within the fences. This matter has been brought into notice where franchises for electric railway lines have been granted. In Franklin county, west of Columbus, Ohio, there is hardly room for a standard gauge track outside the road-bed, where once the road occupied forty feet each side of its axis. When the property owners were addressed with respect to the removal of their fences, they demanded to be shown quit claim deeds for the land, which, it is necessary to say, were not forthcoming from the state. Hundreds of contracts, calling for a width of eighty feet, can be given as evidence of the original width of the road.⁹⁷ In days when it was considered the most extrav-

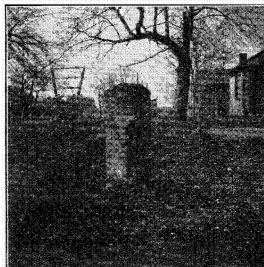
⁹⁷ "The proper limits of the road are hereby defined to be a space of eighty feet in width — forty feet on each side of the center of the graded road-bed." — Law passed April 18, 1870, *Laws of Ohio*, Vol. LVIII, p. 140.



IN PENNSYLVANIA.



A BATTERED SPECIMEN.



IN A PRIVATE YARD NEAR COLUMBUS,
OHIO.



AT CORNER OF MAIN AND FIFTH STREETS,
COLUMBUS, OHIO.

MILE STONES ON THE NATIONAL ROAD.

agant good fortune to have the National Road pass through one's farm, it was not considered necessary to obtain quit claim deeds of the land!

It is difficult to sufficiently emphasize the aristocracy which existed among the old "pike boys," as those most intimately connected with the road were called. This was particularly true of the drivers of the mail and passenger stages, men who were as often noted for their quick wit and large acquaintance with men, as for their dextrous handling of two hands full of reins. Their social and business position was the envy of the youth of a nation, whose ambition to emulate them was begotten of the best sort of hero worship. Stage drivers' foibles were their pet themes, such as the use of peculiar kinds of whips and various modes of driving. Of the latter there were three styles common to the National Road. (1) The flat rein (English style), (2) Top and bottom (Pennsylvania adaptation), (3) Side rein (Eastern style). The last mode was in commonest use. Of drivers there were, of course, all kinds, slovenly, cruel, careful. Of the best class, John Bunting, Jim Reynolds and Billy Armor were best known, after "Red" Bunting, in the east, and David Gordon and James Burr, on the western division. No one was more proud of the fine horses which did the work of the great road than the better class of drivers. As Thackeray said was true in England, the passing of the era of good roads and the mail stage has sounded the knell of the rugged race of horses which once did service in the central west.

As one scans the old files of newspapers, or reads old time letters and memoirs of the age of the National Road, he is im-

pressed with the interest taken in the coming and going of the more renowned guests of the old road. The passage of a President-elect over the National Road was a triumphant procession. The stage companies made special stages, or selected the best of their stock, in which to bear him. The best horses were fed and groomed for the proud task. The most noted drivers were appointed to the honorable station as Charioteer-to-the-President. The thousands of homes along his route were decked in his honor, and welcoming heralds rode out from the larger towns to escort their noted guests to celebrations for which preparations had been making for days in advance. The slow moving presidential pageant through Ohio and Pennsylvania was an educational and patriotic ceremony, of not infrequent occurrence in the old coaching days—a worthy exhibition which hardly has its counterpart in these days of steam. Jackson, Van Buren, Monroe, Harrison, Polk and Tyler passed in triumph over portions of the great road. The taverns at which they were fêted are remembered by the fact. Drivers who were chosen for the task of driving their coach were ever after noted men. But there were other guests than presidents-elect, though none received with more acclaim. Henry Clay, the champion of the road, was a great favorite throughout its towns and hamlets, one of which, Claysville, proudly perpetuates his name. Benton and Cass, Gen. Lafayette, Gen. Santa Anna, Black Hawk, Jenny Lind, P. T. Barnum and J. Q. Adams, are all mentioned in the records of the stirring days of the old road. As has been suggested elsewhere, politics entered largely into the consideration of the building and maintenance of the road. Enemies of internal improvement were not forgotten as they

passed along the great road which they voted to neglect, as even Martin Van Buren once realized when the axle of his coach was sawed in two, breaking down where the mud was deepest! Many episodes are remembered, indicating that all the political prejudice and rancor known elsewhere was especially in evidence on this highway, which owed its existence and future to the machinations of politicians.

But the greatest blessing of the National Road was the splendid era of national growth which it did its share toward hastening. Its best friends could see in its decline and decay only evidences of unhappiest fortune, while in reality the great road had done its noble work and was to be superseded by better things which owed to it their coming. Historic roads there had been, before the great highway of America was built, but none in all the past had been the means of supplanting themselves by greater and more efficient means of communication. The far-famed Appian Way witnessed many triumphal processions of consuls and pro-consuls, but it never was the means of bringing into existence something to take its place in a new and more progressive era. It helped to create no tree empire at its extremity, and they who traversed it in so much pride and power would find it to-day nothing but a ponderous memorial of their vanity. The National Road was built by the people and for the people, and served well its high purpose. It became a highway for the products of the factories, the fisheries and the commerce of the eastern states. It made possible that interchange of the courtesies of social life necessary in a republic of united states. It was one of the great strands which bound the nation together in early days when there

was much to excite animosity and provoke disunion. It became the pride of New England as well as of the west which it more immediately benefited; "The state of which I am a citizen," said Edward Everett of Lexington, Kentucky, in 1829, "has already paid between one and two thousand dollars toward the construction and repair of that road; and I doubt not she is prepared to contribute her proportion toward its extension to the place of its destination."⁹⁸

Hundreds of ancient but unpretentious monuments of the old National Road—the hoary mile stones which line it—stand to perpetuate its name in future days. But were they all gathered together—from Indiana and Ohio and Pennsylvania and Virginia and Maryland—and cemented into a monstrous pyramid, the pile would not be inappropriate to preserve the name and fame of a highway which "carried thousands of population and millions of wealth into the West, and, more than any other material structure in the land, served to harmonize and strengthen, if not save, the Union!"

What of the future? The dawning of the era of country living is in sight. It is being hastened by the revolution in methods of locomotion. The bicycle and automobile presage an era of good roads, and of an unparalleled countryward movement of society. With this era is coming the revival of inn and tavern life, the rejuvenation of a thousand ancient highways and all the happy life that was ever known along their dusty coils and stretches. By its position with reference to the national capital,

⁹⁸ *Everett's Speeches and Orations*, Vol. 1, p. 202.

and the military and commercial key of the central west, Pittsburg, and both of the great cities of Ohio, the old National Road will become, perhaps, the foremost of the great roadways of America. The bed is capable of being made substantial at a comparatively small cost, as the grading is quite perfect. Its course measures the shortest possible route practicable for a roadway from tide water to the Mississippi river. As a trunk line its location cannot be surpassed. Its historic associations will render the route of increasing interest to the thousands who, in other days, will travel, in the genuine sense of the word, over those portions of its length which long ago became hallowed ground. The "Shades of Death" will again be filled with the echoing horn which heralded the arrival of the old time coaches, and Winding Ridge again be crowded with the traffic of a nation. A hundred National Road taverns will be opened, and bustling landlords welcome, as of yore, the travel-stained visitor. Merry parties will again fill those tavern halls, now long silent, with their laughter.

And all this will but mark a new and better era than its predecessor, an era of outdoor living, which must come, and come quickly, if as a nation we are to retain our present hold on the world's great affairs.

THE END.

APPENDIX No. 1.

THE FIRST REPORT OF THE NATIONAL ROAD COMMISSIONERS—1806.

“The commissioners, acting by appointment under the law of Congress, entitled, ‘An act to regulate the laying out and making a road from Cumberland, in the State of Maryland, to the State of Ohio, beg leave to report to the President of the United States, and to premise that the duties imposed by the law became a work of greater magnitude, and a task much more arduous, than was conceived before entering upon it; from which circumstance the commissioners did not allow themselves sufficient time for the performance of it before the severity of the weather obliged them to retire from it, which was the case in the first week of the present month (December). That, not having fully accomplished their work, they are unable fully to report a discharge of all the duties enjoined by the law; but as the most material and principal part has been performed, and as a communication of the progress already made may be useful and proper, during the present session of Congress, and of the Legislatures of those States through which the route passes, the commissioners respectfully state that at a very early period it was conceived that the maps of the country were not sufficiently accurate to afford a minute knowledge of the true courses between the extreme points on the rivers, by which the researches of the commissioners were to be governed; a survey for that purpose became indispensable, and considerations of public economy suggested the propriety of making this survey precede the personal attendance of the commissioners.

Josias Thompson, a surveyor of professional merit, was taken into service and authorized to employ two chain carriers and a marker, as well as one vaneman, and a packhorse man and horse, on public account; the latter being indispensable and really beneficial in accelerating the work. The surveyor's instructions are contained in document No. 1, accompanying this report.

Calculating on a reasonable time for the performance of the instructions to the surveyor, the commissioners, by correspondence, fixed on the first day of September last, for their meeting at Cumberland to proceed in the work; neither of them, however, reached that place until the third of that month, on which day they all met.

The surveyor having, under his instructions, laid down a plat of his work, showing the meanders of the Potomac and Ohio rivers, within the limits prescribed for the commissioners, as also the road between those rivers, which is commonly traveled from Cumberland to Charleston, in part called Braddock's road; and the same being produced to the commissioners, whereby straight lines and their true courses were shown between the extreme points on each river, and the boundaries which limit the powers of the commissioners being thereby ascertained, serving as a basis whereon to proceed in the examination of the grounds and face of the country; the commissioners thus prepared commenced the business of exploring; and in this it was considered that a faithful discharge of the discretionary powers vested by the law made it necessary to view the whole to be able to judge of a preference due to any part of the grounds, which imposed a task of examining a space comprehending upwards of two thousand square

miles; a task rendered still more incumbent by the solicitude and importunities of the inhabitants of every part of the district, who severally conceived their grounds entitled to a preference. It becoming necessary, in the interim, to run various lines of experiment for ascertaining the geographical position of several points entitled to attention, and the service suffering great delay for want of another surveyor, it was thought consistent with the public interest to employ, in that capacity, Arthur Rider, the vaneman, who had been chosen with qualification to meet such an emergency; and whose services as vaneman could then be dispensed with. He commenced, as surveyor, on the 22nd day of September, and continued so at field work until the first day of December, when he was retained as a necessary assistant to the principal surveyor, in copying field notes and hastening the draught of the work to be reported.

The proceedings of the commissioners are especially detailed in their general journal, compiled from the daily journal of each commissioner, to which they beg leave to refer, under mark No. 2.

After a careful and critical examination of all the grounds within the limits prescribed, as well as the grounds and ways out from the Ohio westwardly, at several points, and examining the shoal parts of the Ohio river as detailed in the table of soundings, stated in their journal, and after gaining all the information, geographical, general and special, possible and necessary, toward a judicial discharge of the duties assigned them, the commissioners repaired to Cumberland to examine and compare their notes and journals, and determine upon the direction and location of their route.

In this consultation the governing objects were:

1. Shortness of distance between navigable points on the eastern and western waters.
2. A point on the Monongahela best calculated to equalize the advantages of this portage in the country within reach of it.
3. A point on the Ohio river most capable of combining certainty of navigation with road accommodation; embracing, in this estimate, remote points westwardly, as well as present and probable population on the north and south.
4. Best mode of diffusing benefits with least distance of road.

In contemplating these objects, due attention was paid as well to the comparative merits of towns, establishments and settlements already made, as to the capacity of the country with the present and probable population.

In the course of arrangement, and in its order, the first point located for the route was determined and fixed at Cumberland, a decision founded on propriety, and in some measure on necessity, from the circumstance of a high and difficult mountain, called Nobley, laying and confining the east margin of the Potomac, so as to render it impossible of access on that side without immense expense, at any point between Cumberland and where the road from Winchester to Gwynn's crosses, and even there the Nobley mountain is crossed with much difficulty and hazard. And this upper point was taxed with another formidable objection; it was found that a high range of mountains, called Dan's, stretching across from Gwynn's to the Potomac, above this point, precluded the opportunity of extending a route from this point in a proper direction, and left no alternative but passing by

Gwynn's; the distance from Cumberland to Gwynn's being upward of a mile less than from the upper point, which lies ten miles by water above Cumberland, the commissioners were not permitted to hesitate in preferring a point which shortens the portage, as well as the Potomac navigation.

The point of the Potomac being viewed as a great repository of produce, which a good road will bring from the west of Laurel Hill, and the advantages which Cumberland, as a town, has in that respect over an unimproved place, are additional considerations operating forcibly in favor of the place preferred.

In extending the route from Cumberland, a triple range of mountains, stretching across from Jening's run in measure with Gwynn's, left only the alternative of laying the road up Will's creek for three miles, nearly at right angles with the true course, and then by way of Jening's run, or extending it over a break in the smallest mountain, on a better course by Gwynn's, to the top of Savage mountain; the latter was adopted, being the shortest, and will be less expensive in hill-side digging over a sloped route than the former, requiring one bridge over Will's creek and several over Jening's run, both very wide and considerable streams in high water; and a more weighty reason for preferring the route by Gwynn's is the great accommodation it will afford travelers from Winchester by the upper point, who could not reach the route by Jening's run short of the top of Savage, which would withhold from them the benefit of an easy way up the mountain.

It is, however, supposed that those who travel from Winchester by way of the upper point to Gwynn's, are in that respect

more the dupes of common prejudice than judges of their own ease, as it is believed the way will be as short, and on much better ground, to cross the Potomac below the confluence of the north and south branches (thereby crossing these two, as well as Patterson's creek, in one stream, equally fordable in the same season), than to pass through Cumberland to Gwynn's. Of these grounds, however, the commissioners do not speak from actual view, but consider it a subject well worthy of future investigation. Having gained the top of Alleghany mountain, or rather the top of that part called Savage, by way of Gwynn's, the general route, as it respects the most important points, was determined as follows, viz:

From a stone at the corner of lot No. 1, in Cumberland, near the confluence of Will's creek and the north branch of the Potomac river; thence extending along the street westwardly, to cross the hill lying between Cumberland and Gwynn's, at the gap where Braddock's road passes it; thence near Gwynn's and Jesse Tomlinson's, to cross the big Youghioghenny near the mouth of Roger's run, between the crossing of Braddock's road and the confluence of the streams which form the Turkey foot; thence to cross Laurel Hill near the forks of Dunbar's run, to the west foot of that hill, at a point near where Braddock's old road reached it, near Gist's old place, now Colonel Isaac Meason's, thence through Brownsville and Bridgeport, to cross the Monongahela river below Josias Crawford's ferry; and thence on as straight a course as the country will admit to the Ohio, at a point between the mouth of Wheeling creek and the lower point of Wheeling island.

In this direction of the route it will lay about twenty-four and a half miles in Maryland, seventy-five miles and a half in Pennsylvania, and twelve miles in Virginia; distances which will be in a small degree increased by meanders, which the bed of the road must necessarily make between the points mentioned in the location; and this route, it is believed, comprehends more important advantages than could be afforded in any other, inasmuch as it has a capacity at least equal to any other in extending advantages of a highway; and at the same time establishes the shortest portage between the points already navigated, and on the way accommodates other and nearer points to which navigation may be extended, and still shorten the portage.

It intersects Big Youghiogheny at the nearest point from Cumberland, then lies nearly parallel with that river from the distance of twenty miles, and at the west foot of Laurel Hill lies within five miles of Connellsville, from which the Youghiogheny is navigated; and in the same direction the route intersects at Brownsville, the nearest point on the Monongahela river within the district.

The improvement of the Youghiogheny navigation, is a subject of too much importance to remain long neglected; and the capacity of that river, as high up as the falls (twelve miles above Connellsville), is said to be equal, at a small expense, with the parts already navigated below. The obstructions at the falls, and a rocky rapid near Turkey Foot, constitute the principal impediments in that river to the intersection of the route, and as much higher as the stream has a capacity for navi-

gation; and these difficulties will doubtless be removed when the intercourse shall warrant the measure.

Under these circumstances the portage may be thus stated:

From Cumberland to Monongahela, sixty-six and one-half miles. From Cumberland to a point in measure with Connells-ville, on the Youghiogheny river, fifty-one and one-half miles. From Cumberland to a point in measure with the lower end of the falls of Youghiogheny, which will lie two miles north of the public road, forty-three miles. From Cumberland to the intersection of the route with the Youghiogheny river, thirty-four miles.

Nothing is here said of the Little Youghiogheny, which lies nearer Cumberland; the stream being unusually crooked, its navigation can only become the work of a redundant population.

The point which this route locates, at the west foot of Laurel Hill, having cleared the whole of the Alleghany mountain, is so situated as to extend the advantages of an easy way through the great barrier, with more equal justice to the best parts of the country between Laurel Hill and the Ohio. Lines from this point to Pittsburg and Morgantown, diverging nearly at the same angle, open upon equal terms to all parts of the western country that can make use of this portage; and which may include the settlements from Pittsburg, up Big Beaver to the Connecticut reserve, on Lake Erie, as well as those on the southern borders of the Ohio and all the intermediate country.

Brownsville is nearly equi-distant from Big Beaver and Fishing creek, and equally convenient to all the crossing places on the Ohio, between these extremes. As a port, it is at least

equal to any on the Monongahela within the limits, and holds superior advantages in furnishing supplies to emigrants, traders, and other travelers by land or water.

Not unmindful of the claims of towns and their capacity of reciprocating advantages on public roads, the commissioners were not insensible of the disadvantage which Uniontown must feel from the want of that accommodation which a more southwardly direction of the route would have afforded; but as that could not take place without a relinquishment of the shortest passage, considerations of public benefit could not yield to feelings of minor import. Uniontown being the seat of justice for Fayette county, Pennsylvania, is not without a share of public benefits, and may partake of the advantages of this portage upon equal terms with Connellsville, a growing town, with the advantage of respectable water-works adjoining, in the manufacture of flour and iron.

After reaching the nearest navigation on the western waters, at a point best calculated to diffuse the benefits of a great highway, in the greatest possible latitude east of the Ohio, it was considered that, to fulfill the objects of the law, it remained for the commissioners to give such a direction to the road as would best secure a certainty of navigation on the Ohio at all seasons, combining, as far as possible, the inland accommodation of remote points westwardly. It was found that the obstructions in the Ohio, within the limits between Steubenville and Grave creek, lay principally above the town and mouth of Wheeling; a circumstance ascertained by the commissioners in their examination of the channel, as well as by common usage, which

has long given a decided preference to Wheeling as a place of embarkation and port of departure in dry seasons. It was also seen that Wheeling lay in a line from Brownsville to the centre of the state of Ohio and Post Vincennes. These circumstances favoring and corresponding with the chief objects in view in this last direction of the route, and the ground from Wheeling westwardly being known of equal fitness with any other way out from the river, it was thought most proper, under these several considerations, to locate the point mentioned below the mouth of Wheeling. In taking this point in preference to one higher up and in the town of Wheeling, the public benefit and convenience were consulted, inasmuch as the present crossing place over the Ohio from the town is so contrived and confined as to subject passengers to extraordinary ferriage and delay, by entering and clearing a ferry-boat on each side of Wheeling island, which lies before the town and precludes the opportunity of fording when the river is crossed in that way, above and below the island. From the point located, a safe crossing is afforded at the lower point of the island by a ferry in high, and a good ford at low water.

The face of the country within the limits prescribed is generally very uneven, and in many places broken by a succession of high mountains and deep hollows, too formidable to be reduced within five degrees of the horizon, but by crossing them obliquely, a mode which, although it imposes a heavy task of hill-side digging, obviates generally the necessity of reducing hills and filling hollows, which, on these grounds, would be an attempt truly Quixotic. This inequality of the surface is not confined to the

Alleghany mountain; the country between the Monongahela and Ohio rivers, although less elevated, is not better adapted for the bed of a road, being filled with impediments of hills and hollows, which present considerable difficulties, and wants that super-abundance and convenience of stone which is found in the mountain.

The indirect course of the road now traveled, and the frequent elevations and depressions which occur, that exceed the limits of the law, preclude the possibility of occupying it in any extent without great sacrifice of distance, and forbid the use of it, in any one part for more than half a mile, or more than two or three miles in the whole.

The expense of rendering the road now in contemplation passable, may, therefore, amount to a larger sum than may have been supposed necessary, under an idea of embracing in it a considerable part of the old road; but it is believed that the contrary will be found most correct, and that a sum sufficient to open the new could not be expended on the same distance of the old road with equal benefit.

The sum required for the road in contemplation will depend on the style and manner of making it; as a common road cannot remove the difficulties which always exist on deep grounds, and particularly in wet seasons, and as nothing short of a firm, substantial, well-formed, stone-capped road can remove the causes which led to the measure of improvement, or render the institution as commodious as a great and growing intercourse appears to require, the expense of such a road next becomes the subject of inquiry.

In this inquiry the commissioners can only form an estimate by recurring to the experience of Pennsylvania and Maryland in the business of artificial roads. Upon this data, and a comparison of the grounds and proximity of the materials for covering, there are reasons for belief that, on the route reported, a complete road may be made at an expense not exceeding six thousand dollars per mile, exclusive of bridges over the principal streams on the way. The average expense of the Lancaster, as well as Baltimore and Frederick turnpike, is considerably higher; but it is believed that the convenient supply of stone which the mountain affords will, on those grounds, reduce the expense to the rate here stated.

As to the policy of incurring this expense, it is not the province of the commissioners to declare; but they cannot, however, withhold assurances of a firm belief that the purse of the nation cannot be more seasonably opened, or more happily applied, than in promoting the speedy and effectual establishment of a great and easy road on the way contemplated.

In the discharge of all these duties, the commissioners have been actuated by an ardent desire to render the institution as useful and commodious as possible; and, impressed with a strong sense of the necessity which urges the speedy establishment of the road, they have to regret the circumstances which delay the completion of the part assigned them. They, however, in some measure, content themselves with the reflection that it will not retard the progress of the work, as the opening of the road cannot commence before spring, and may then begin with making the way.

The extra expense incident to the service from the necessity (and propriety, as it relates to public economy,) of employing men not provided for by law will, it is hoped, be recognized and provision made for the payment of that and similar expenses, when in future it may be indispensably incurred.

The commissioners having engaged in a service in which their zeal did not permit them to calculate the difference between their pay and the expense to which the service subjected them, cannot suppose it the wish or intention of the government to accept of their services for a mere indemnification of their expense of subsistence, which will be very much the case under the present allowance; they, therefore, allow themselves to hope and expect that measures will be taken to provide such further compensation as may, under all circumstances, be thought neither profuse nor parsimonious.

The painful anxiety manifested by the inhabitants of the district explored, and their general desire to know the route determined on, suggested the measure of promulgation, which, after some deliberation, was agreed on by way of circular letter, which has been forwarded to those persons to whom precaution was useful, and afterward sent to one of the presses in that quarter for publication, in the form of the document No. 3, which accompanies this report.

All which is, with due deference, submitted.

ELI WILLIAMS,
THOMAS MOORE,
JOSEPH KERR.

December 30, 1806.

APPENDIX No. 2.

SECOND REPORT OF THE NATIONAL ROAD COMMISSIONERS — 1808.

“The undersigned, commissioners appointed under the law of the United States, entitled ‘An act to regulate the laying out and making a road from Cumberland, in the State of Maryland, to the State of Ohio,’ in addition to the communications heretofore made, beg leave further to report to the President of the United States, that, by the delay of the answer of the Legislature of Pennsylvania to the application for permission to pass the road through that state, the commissioners could not proceed to the business of the road in the spring before vegetation had so far advanced as to render the work of exploring and surveying difficult and tedious, from which circumstance it was postponed till the last autumn, when the business was again resumed. That, in obedience to the special instructions given them, the route heretofore reported has been so changed as to pass through Uniontown, and that they have completed the location, gradation and marking of the route from Cumberland to Brownsville, Bridgeport, and the Monongahela river, agreeably to a plat of the courses, distances and grades in which is described the marks and monuments by which the route is designated, and which is herewith exhibited; that by this plat and measurement it will appear (when compared with the road now traveled) there is a saving of four miles of distance between Cumberland and Brownsville on the new route.

In the gradation of the surface of the route (which became necessary) is ascertained the comparative elevation and depression of different points on the route, **and taking a point ten feet above the surface of low water in the Potomac river at Cumberland, as the horizon**, the most prominent points are found to be elevated as follows, viz.:

	FEET
Summit of Wills mountain.....	581.3
Western foot of same.....	304.4
Summit of Savage mountain.....	2,022.24
Savage river	1,741.6
Summit Little Savage mountain.....	1,900.4
Branch Pine Run, first Western water.....	1,699.9
Summit of Red Hill (afterwards called shades of death).....	1,914.3
Summit Little Meadow mountain.....	2,026.16
Little Youghiogheny river.....	1,322.6
East Fork of Shade run.....	1,558.92
Summit of Negro mountain, highest point ⁹⁹	2,328.12
Middle branch of White's creek, at the west foot of Negro mountain	1,360.5
White's creek	1,195.5
Big Youghiogheny river.....	645.5
Summit of a ridge between Youghiogheny river and Beaver waters	1,514.5
Beaver Run	1,123.8
Summit of Laurel Hill.....	1,550.16
Court House in Uniontown.....	274.65
A point ten feet above the surface of low water in the Monongahela river, at the mouth of Dunlap's creek.....	119.26

⁹⁹ Keyser's Ridge.

The law requiring the commissioners to report those parts of the route as are laid on **the old road**, as well as those on new grounds, and to state those parts which **require the most** immediate attention and amelioration, the probable expense of **making** the same passable in the most difficult parts, and through the whole distance, they have to state that, from the crooked and hilly course of the road now traveled, the new route could not be made to occupy any part of it (except an intersection on Wills mountain, another at Jesse Tomlinson's, and a third near Big Youghiogheny, embracing not a mile of distance in the whole) without unnecessary sacrifices of distances and expense.

That, therefore, an estimate must be made on the route as passing wholly through new grounds. In doing this the commissioners feel great difficulty, as they cannot, with any degree of precision, estimate the expense of making it merely passable; nor can they allow themselves to suppose that a less breadth than that mentioned in the law was to be taken into the calculation. The rugged deformity of the grounds rendered it impossible to lay a route within the grade limited by law otherwise than by ascending and descending the hills obliquely, by which circumstance a great proportion of the route occupies the sides of the hills, which cannot be safely passed on a road of common breadth, and where it will, in the opinion of the commissioners, be necessary, by digging, to give the proper form of thirty feet, at least in the breadth of the road, to afford suitable security in passing on a way to be frequently crowded with wagons moving in opposite directions, with transports of emigrant families, and droves of cattle, hogs, etc., on the way to market. Considering, therefore,

that a road on those grounds must have sufficient breadth to afford ways and water courses, and satisfied that nothing short of well constructed and completely finished conduits can insure it against injuries, which must otherwise render it impassable at every change of the seasons, by heavy falls of rain or melting of the beds of snow, with which the country is frequently covered; the commissioners beg leave to say, that, in a former report, they estimated the expense of a road on these grounds, when properly shaped, made and finished in the style of a stone-covered turnpike, at \$6,000 per mile, exclusive of bridges over the principal streams on the way; and that with all the information they have since been able to collect, they have no reason to make any alteration in that estimate.

The contracts authorized by, and which have been taken under the superintendence of the commissioner, Thomas Moore (duplicates of which accompany this report), will show what has been undertaken relative to clearing the timber and brush from part of the breadth of the road. The performance of these contracts was in such forwardness on the 1st instant as leaves no doubt of their being completely fulfilled by the first of March.

The commissioners further state, that, to aid them in the extension of their route, they ran and marked a straight line from the crossing place on the Monongahela, to Wheeling, and had progressed twenty miles, with their usual and necessary lines of experiment, in ascertaining the shortest and best connection of practical grounds, when the approach of winter and the shortness of the days afforded no expectation that they could complete the location without a needless expense in the most inclement

season of the year. And, presuming that the postponement of the remaining part till the ensuing spring would produce no delay in the business of making the road, they were induced to retire from it for the present.

The great length of time already employed in this business makes it proper for the commissioners to observe that, in order to connect the best grounds with that circumspection which the importance of the duties confided to them demanded, it became indispensably necessary to run lines of experiment and reference in various directions, which exceed an average of four times the distance located for the route, and that, through a country so irregularly broken, and crowded with very thick underwood in many places, the work has been found so incalculably tedious that, without an adequate idea of the difficulty, it is not easy to reconcile the delay.

It is proper to mention that an imperious call from the private concerns of Commissioner Joseph Kerr, compelled him to return home on the 29th of November, which will account for the want of his signature to this report.

All of which is, with due reference, submitted, this 15th day of January, 1808.

ELI WILLIAMS,
THOMAS MOORE.

APPENDIX No. 3.

APPROPRIATIONS BY CONGRESS AT VARIOUS TIMES FOR MAKING, REPAIRING,
AND CONTINUING THE ROAD — AGGREGATE OF APPROPRIATIONS, \$6,824,-
919.33.¹⁰⁰

1. Act of March 29, 1806, authorizes the President to appoint a commission of three citizens to lay out a road four rods in width "from Cumberland or a point on the northern bank of the river Potomac in the State of Maryland, between Cumberland and the place where the main road leading from Gwynn's to Winchester, in Virginia, crosses the river, * * * to strike the river Ohio at the most convenient place between a point on its eastern bank, opposite the northern boundary of Steubenville and the mouth of Grave creek, which empties into the said river a little below Wheeling, in Virginia." Provides for obtaining the consent of the States through which the road passes, and appropriates for the expense, to be paid from the reserve fund under the act of April 30, 1802 \$30,000 00
2. Act of February 14, 1810, appropriates to be expended under the direction of the President in making the road between Cumberland and Brownsville, to be paid from fund act of April 30, 1802..... 60,000 00
3. Act of March 3, 1811, appropriates to be expended under the direction of the President, in making the road between Cumberland and Brownsville, and authorizes the President to permit deviation from a

¹⁰⁰*The Old Pike*, pp. 100-106.

line established by the Commissioners under the original act as may be expedient; <i>Provided</i> , that no deviation shall be made from the principal points established on said road between Cumberland and Brownsville, to be paid from fund act of April 30, 1802	50,000 00
4. Act of February 26, 1812, appropriates balance of a former appropriation not used, but carried to surplus fund	3,786 60
5. Act of May 6, 1812, appropriates to be expended under direction of the President, for making the road from Cumberland to Brownsville, to be paid from fund act of April 30, 1802.....	30,000 00
6. Act of March 3, 1813 (General Appropriation Bill), appropriates for making the road from Cumberland to the State of Ohio, to be paid from fund act of April 30, 1802.....	140,000 00
7. Act of February 14, 1815, appropriates to be expended under the direction of the President, for making the road between Cumberland and Brownsville, to be paid from fund act of April 30, 1802.....	100,000 00
8. Act of April 16, 1816 (General Appropriation Bill), appropriates for making the road from Cumberland to the State of Ohio, to be paid from the fund act April 30, 1802.....	300,000 00
9. Act of April 14, 1818, appropriates to meet claims due and unpaid	52,984 60
Demands under existing contracts.....	260,000 00
from money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated.	
10. Act of March 3, 1819, appropriates for existing claims and contracts	250,000 00
Completing road	285,000 00
To be paid from reserved funds, acts admitting Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.	

- | | |
|---|------------|
| 11. Act of May 15, 1820, appropriates for laying out the road between Wheeling, Va., and a point on the left bank of the Mississippi river, between St. Louis and the mouth of the Illinois river, road to be eighty feet wide and on a straight line, and authorizes the President to appoint Commissioners. To be paid out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated | 10,000 00 |
| 12. Act of April 11, 1820, appropriates for completing contract for road from Washington, Pa., to Wheeling, out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated | 141,000 00 |
| 13. Act of February 28, 1823, appropriates for repairs between Cumberland and Wheeling, and authorizes the President to appoint a superintendent at a compensation of \$3.00 per day. To be paid out of any money not otherwise appropriated..... | 25,000 00 |
| 14. Act of March 3, 1825, appropriates for opening and making a road from the town of Canton, in the State of Ohio, opposite Wheeling, to Zanesville, and for the completion of the surveys of the road, directed to be made by the act of May 15, 1820, and orders its extension to the permanent seat of government of Missouri, and to pass by the seats of government of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, said road to commence at Zanesville, Ohio; also authorizes the appointment of a superintendent by the President, at a salary of \$1,500 per annum, who shall make all contracts, receive and disburse all moneys, &c.; also authorizes the appointment of one commissioner, who shall have power according to provisions of the act of May 15, 1820; \$10,000 of the money appropriated by this act is to be expended in completing the survey mentioned. The whole sum appropriated to be advanced from | |

Appendix.

145

	moneys not otherwise appropriated, and replaced from reserve fund, acts admitting Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri.....	150,000 00
15.	Act of March 14, 1826 (General Appropriation Bill), appropriates for balance due superintendent, \$3,000; assistant superintendent, \$158.90; contractor, \$252.13.	3,411 03
16.	Act of March 25, 1826 (Military Service), appropriates for continuation of the Cumberland road during the year 1825.....	110,749 00
17.	Act of March 2, 1827 (Military Service), appropriates for construction of road from Canton to Zanesville, and continuing and completing the survey from Zanesville to the seat of government of Missouri, to be paid from reserve fund, acts admitting Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri.....	170,000 00
	For balance due superintendent, from moneys not otherwise appropriated	510 00
18.	Act of March 2, 1827, appropriates for repairs between Cumberland and Wheeling, and authorizes the appointment of a superintendent of repairs, at a compensation to be fixed by the President. To be paid from moneys not otherwise appropriated. The language of this act is, "For repairing the public road from Cumberland to Wheeling".....	30,000 00
19.	Act of May 19, 1828, appropriates for the completion of the road to Zanesville, Ohio, to be paid from fund, acts admitting Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri	175,000 00
20.	Act of March 2, 1829, appropriates for opening road westwardly, from Zanesville, Ohio, to be paid from fund, acts admitting Ohio, Illinois Indiana, and Missouri	100,000 00
21.	Act of March 2, 1829, appropriates for opening road eighty feet wide in Indiana, east and west from In-	

- | | | |
|-----|---|------------|
| | dianapolis, and to appoint two superintendents, at \$800 each per annum, to be paid from funds, acts admitting Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri..... | 51,600 00 |
| 22. | Act of March 3, 1829, appropriates for repairing bridges &c., on road east of Wheeling..... | 100,000 00 |
| 23. | Act of May 31, 1830 (Internal Improvements), appropriates for opening and grading road west of Zanesville, Ohio, \$100,000; for opening and grading road in Indiana, \$60,000; commencing at Indianapolis, and progressing with the work to the eastern and western boundaries of said State; for opening, grading, &c., in Illinois, \$40,000, to be paid from reserve fund, acts admitting Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri; for claims due and remaining unpaid on account of road east of Wheeling, \$15,000; to be paid from moneys in the treasury not otherwise appropriated | 215,000 00 |
| 24. | Act of March 2, 1831, appropriates \$100,000 for opening, grading, &c., west of Zanesville, Ohio; \$950 for repairs during the year 1830; \$2,700 for work heretofore done east of Zanesville; \$265.85 for arrearages for the survey from Zanesville to the capital of Missouri; and \$75,000 for opening, grading, &c., in the State of Indiana, including bridge over White river, near Indianapolis, and progressing to eastern and western boundaries; \$66,000 for opening, grading and bridging in Illinois; to be paid from the fund, acts admitting Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri | 244,915 85 |
| 25. | Act of July 3, 1832, appropriates \$150,000 for repairs east of the Ohio river; \$100,000 for continuing the road west of Zanesville; \$100,000 for continuing the road in Indiana, including bridge over east and west branch of White river; \$70,000 for continuing | |

- | | |
|---|------------|
| road in Illinois; to be paid from the fund, acts admitting Ohio, Indiana and Illinois..... | 420,000 00 |
| 26. Act of March 2, 1833, appropriates to carry on certain improvements east of the Ohio river, \$125,000; in Ohio, west of Zanesville, \$130,000; in Indiana, \$100,000; in Illinois, \$70,000; in Virginia, \$34,440. | 459,440 00 |
| 27. Act of June 24, 1834, appropriates \$200,000 for continuing the road in Ohio; \$150,000 for continuing the road in Indiana; \$100,000 for continuing the road in Illinois, and \$300,000 for the entire completion of repairs east of Ohio, to meet provisions of the acts of Pennsylvania (April 4, 1831), Maryland (Jan. 23, 1832) and Virginia (Feb. 7, 1832), accepting the road surrendered to the States, the United States not thereafter to be subject for any expense for repairs. Places engineer officer of army in control of road through Indiana and Illinois, and in charge of all appropriations. \$300,000 to be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, balance from acts admitting Ohio, Indiana and Illinois..... | 750,000 00 |
| 28. Act of June 27, 1837 (General Appropriation), for arrearages due contractors..... | 1,609 36 |
| 29. Act of March 3, 1835, appropriates \$200,000 for continuing the road in the State of Ohio; \$100,000 for continuing road in the State of Indiana; to be out of fund acts admitting Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, and \$346,186.58 for the entire completion of repairs in Maryland, Pennsylvania and Virginia; but before any part of this sum can be expended east of the Ohio river, the road shall be surrendered to and accepted by the States through which it passes, and the United States shall not thereafter be subject to any expense in relation to said road. Out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.. | 646,186 58 |

- | | |
|--|------------|
| 30. Act of March 3, 1835 (Repair of Roads), appropriates to pay for work heretofore done by Isaiah Frost on the Cumberland Road, \$320; to pay late Superintendent of road a salary, \$862.87..... | 1,182 87 |
| 31. Act of July 2, 1836, appropriates for continuing the road in Ohio, \$200,000; for continuing road in Indiana, \$250,000, including materials for a bridge over the Wabash river; \$150,000 for continuing the road in Illinois, provided that the appropriation for Illinois shall be limited to grading and bridging, and shall not be construed as pledging Congress to future appropriations for the purpose of macadamizing the road, and the moneys herein appropriated for said road in Ohio and Indiana must be expended in completing the greatest possible continuous portion of said road in said States so that said finished part thereof may be surrendered to the States respectively; to be paid from acts admitting Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri | 600,000 00 |
| 32. Act of March 3, 1837, appropriates \$190,000 for continuing the road in Ohio; \$100,000 for continuing the road in Indiana; \$100,000 for continuing road in Illinois, provided the road in Illinois shall not be stoned or graveled, unless it can be done at a cost not greater than the average cost of stoning and graveled the road in Ohio and Indiana, and provided that in all cases where it can be done the work to be laid off in sections and let to the lowest substantial bidder. Sec. 2 of the act provides that Sec. 2 of act of July 2, 1836, shall not be applicable to expenditures hereafter made on the road, and \$7,183.63 is appropriated by this act for repairs east of the Ohio river; to be paid from the acts admitting Ohio, Indiana and Illinois..... | 397,183 63 |

33. Act of May 25, 1838, appropriates for continuing the road in Ohio, \$150,000; for continuing it in Indiana, including bridges, \$150,000; for continuing it in Illinois, \$9,000; for the completion of a bridge over Dunlap's creek at Brownsville; to be paid from moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated and subject to provisions and conditions of act of March 3, 1837.....	459,000 00
34. Act of June 17, 1844 (Civil and Diplomatic), appropriates for arrearages on account of survey to Jefferson, Mo	1,359 81
Total	<u>\$6,824,919 33</u>

APPENDIX No. 4.

SPECIMEN ADVERTISEMENT FOR BIDS FOR REPAIRING NATIONAL ROAD IN
OHIO — 1838.

Sealed proposals will be received at Toll-gate No. 4, until the 6th day of March next, for repairing that part of the road lying between the beginning of the 23rd and end of the 42nd mile, and if suitable bids are obtained, and not otherwise, contracts will be made at Bradshaw's hotel in Fairview, on the 8th. Those who desire contracts are expected to attend in person, in order to sign their bonds.

On this part of the Road three hundred rods or upwards (82½ cubic feet each) will be required on each mile, of the best quality of limestone, broken evenly into blocks not exceeding four ounces in weight, each; and specimens of the material proposed, must be furnished, in quantity not less than six cubic inches, broken and neatly put up in a box, and accompanying each bid; which will be returned and taken as the standard, both as it regards the quality of the material and the preparation of it at the time of measurement and inspection.

The following conditions will be mutually understood as entering into, and forming a part of the contract, namely: The 23, 24 and 25 miles to be ready for measurement and inspection on the 25th of July; the 26, 27 and 28 miles on the 1st of August; the 29, 30 and 31 miles on the 15th of August; the 32, 33 and 34 miles on the 1st of September; the 35, 36, 37 miles on the 15th of September; the 38, 39 and 40 miles on the 1st of October; and the 41 and 42 miles, if let, will be examined at the same time.

Any failure to be ready for inspection at the time above specified, will incur a penalty of five per cent. for every two days' delay, until the whole penalty shall amount to 25 per cent. on the contract paid. All the piles must be neatly put up for measurement and no pile will be measured on this part of the work containing less than five rods. Whenever a pile is placed upon deceptive ground, whether discovered at the time of measurement or afterward, half its contents shall in every case be forfeited for the use of the road.

Proposals will also be received at the American Hotel in Columbus, on the 15th of March for hauling broken materials from the penitentiary east of Columbus. Bids are solicited on the 1, 2 and 3 miles counting from a point near the Toll-gate towards the city. Bids will also be received at the same time and place, for collecting and breaking all the old stone that lies along the roadside, between Columbus and Kirkersville, neatly put in piles of not less than two rods, and placed on the outside of the ditches.

APPENDIX No. 5.

ADVERTISEMENT FOR PROPOSALS FOR BUILDING A NATIONAL ROAD BRIDGE AND FOR TOLL HOUSES IN OHIO — 1837.

Proposals will also be received in Zanesville on Monday the 1st day of May next, at Roger's Tavern, for rebuilding the Bridge over Salt Creek, nine miles east of Zanesville. The structure will be of wood, except some stone work to repair the abutments. A plan of the Bridge,

together with a bill for the timber, &c., can be seen at the place of letting after the 24th inst. Conditions with regard to proposals the same as above.

At the same time and place, proposals will likewise be received, for building three or four Toll gates and Gate Houses between Hebron, east of Columbus, and Jefferson, west of it. The house of frame with stone foundations, and about 13 by 24 feet, one story high, and completely finished. Bills of timber, stone, &c., will be furnished, and particulars made known, by calling on the undersigned, at Rodger's Tavern, in Zanesville after the 24th inst. In making bids conditions the same as above.

All letters must be post-paid, or no attention shall be given to them.

THOMAS M. DRAKE, *Superintendent*.

P. S. — Proposals will also be received at Columbus, on Monday, the 17th of April, for repairing the National Road between Kirkersville and Columbus — by William B. Vanhook, Superintendent.

April 12.

WILLIAM WALL, *A. C. B. P. W.*

APPENDIX No. 6.

ADVERTISEMENT OF NATIONAL ROAD TAVERN IN OHIO — 1837.

Tavern Stand for Sale or Rent. — A valuable Tavern Stand Sign of the Harp, consisting of 25½ acres of choice land partly improved, and a dwelling house, together with three front lots. This eligible and healthy situation lies 8 miles east of Columbus City, the capital of Ohio, on the National Road leading to Zanesville, at Big Walnut Bridge. The stand is well supplied with several elegant springs.

It is unnecessary to comment on the numerous advantages of this interesting site. The thoroughfare is great, and the growing prospects beyond calculation. For particulars inquire of

Dec. 4-14.

T. ARMSTRONG, Hibernia.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN



3 9015 01292 3499